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BUILDING THE NEW KASHMIR

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ASIA AND THE U.S. ELECTIONS

JAPAN'S POLITICAL BALANCE SHEET

CRITICAL TIME IN INDONESIA

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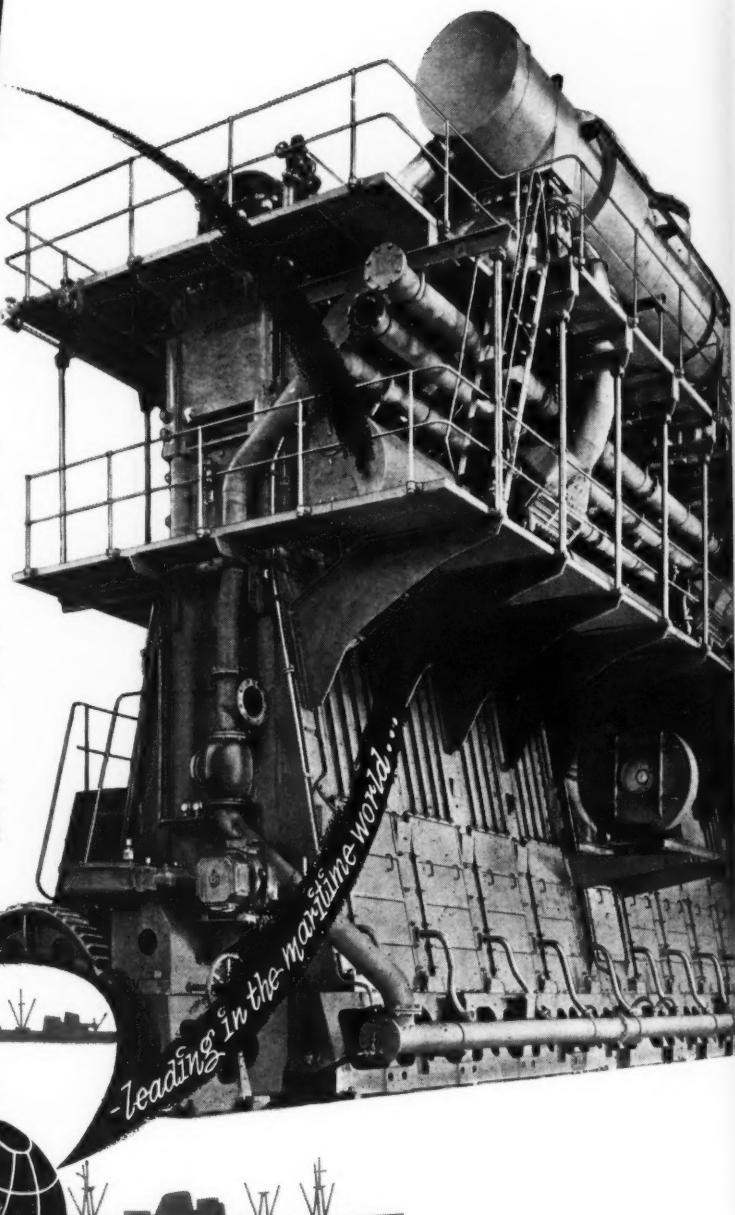
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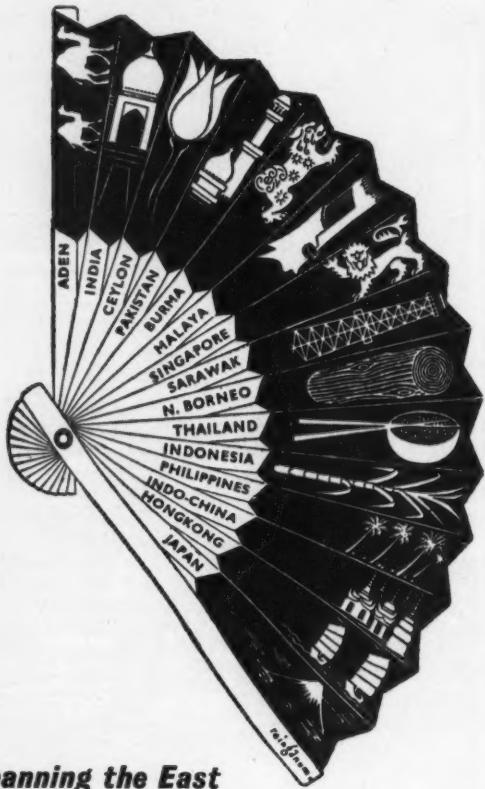
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PANCHA SHILA

NOW that the world-wide stir created by the visit of the Soviet leaders to India, Burma and Afghanistan has somewhat abated, it might be useful to attempt again a sober estimate of its results with regard to the Eastern countries and Britain.

There appeared a variety of such estimates in the West, ranging from extremely negative to enthusiastic. Probably Lindley of *Newsweek* has come nearest to the truth when he wrote that the Soviet tour of Asia had "a response . . . favourable on the whole." Many Western columnists argued that, as a result of the Bulganin-Khrushchev journey, the Soviet Union's stock has soared high in the eyes of eastern nations. This was helped considerably by the fact that the USSR was the first, through its leaders, to recognise India as a Great Power. Unfortunately, far too little attention is paid by western opinion to the other side of the coin which, in our opinion, is of no less importance.

Indians and Burmese frankly admit that the development of economic relations with Russia is likely to bring them substantial advantages. They stress that in the first year of the Indo-Russian trade agreement, trade between the two countries grew four times as against the previous year. India is a ready buyer of capital equipment essential for her industrialisation, from the countries of the Soviet *bloc*. What is of particular importance for India in this connection is that the Russians do not insist upon payments to be made in hard currencies and are satisfied to take local goods in compensation. The natural Russian desire to secure markets in under-developed countries, discussed in *The Times* of December 19, is undoubtedly coupled with a definite interest on the part of the Indians and their neighbours in the Russian market.

Nevertheless, when the Indians welcomed the Soviet leaders with the words "Hindi—Russi Bhai, Bhai!" it was impossible to take these words only as an expression of gratitude for Russian aid in the construction of a file-manufacturing plant and for the offer of aid in the establishment of big steel works. Of great significance is the fact that, as a result of the Russian tour, the international importance of India and Burma has increased considerably.

These countries have every reason to think that the development of economic relations with Russia will promote their independence and sovereignty. In this connec-

tion, they stress that the Russians render aid without any strings attached to it, in particular about joining military and political *blocs*, which are regarded in the majority of Asian countries as a means of undermining their national independence. It is not without reason that even in Pakistan which until recently Britain and the United States have considered as a mainstay of SEATO and METO, opposition against these pacts has sharply intensified. Articles carried in the semi-official Pakistani newspaper *Dawn* can be cited as an example of the gravest anxiety over the fact that the support of a policy of *blocs* pursued by the western powers has done much to weaken Pakistan's international position.

The Indians cannot also but welcome the fact that the Russians take a favourable view of their neutralist course and fully support the "Pancha Shila." These five principles of co-existence, approved in almost all Asian countries, are beginning to serve as a basis for their policies. At present even the most far-sighted western politicians have come to regret that far too few western countries have announced their support of these principles which are, as the *Washington Star* put it, palatable to "any country with liberal views."

The strengthening of Indo-Russian relations is particularly striking as against the background of relations between the West and South-East Asia. Indeed, it is paradoxical that while the western powers render aid to under-developed countries, and display concern for their defences and their consolidation, the effect is the reverse: Asian criticism of the West is growing in intensity, neutral tendencies are gaining new ground and Nehru's stock has never stood so high, in particular due to his accentuated independent attitude to the West.

If one looks at things as they are, it should perhaps be admitted that the western powers may have been too hasty in creating SEATO and METO. Already certain circles in the US are beginning to realise this. For example, in its New Year issue, the *New York Times* wondered whether the

Announcement

Because of a dispute in the printing trade, to which we are not a party, this issue of "Eastern World" is appearing several days late. Certain changes have had to be made in the style and the number of pages reduced.

time had not come to reassess the usefulness of SEATO and the Bagdad Pact.

Britain is in two minds as to what stand should be taken on neutralism. The logic of things shows that to keep her position in Asia, she ought to support the neutralist course of India and her neighbours. Unpleasant as it may be for those politicians who live by old ideals, Britain will have, in the long run, to support the "Pancha Shila." The earlier this is done, the better.

However, British policy appears to stick to the old line. This is obvious, for instance, from the fact that the Foreign Office has taken no formal stand on the notorious Dulles statement on Goa, though the interests of a full member of the Commonwealth are at stake in this case. There was no

formal rebuff in a reply to Dulles's ill-famed article in *Life*. This sort of reticence on the part of the British Government is undoubtedly doing much harm to British prestige in the eyes of Asian opinion. Furthermore it must also be regretted that the results of the meeting of Sir Anthony and President Eisenhower seem to testify that the "old line" will be followed. If this is really the case, then the future holds serious failures in store for British foreign policy.

European problems, and the German question in particular, seem to be pretty hard to solve in the near future. But, it is both possible and urgent to seek a solution of the problems of Asia by calling upon not only the traditional Great Powers, but also the new Great Powers in Asia—India and China—to take part in this audacious undertaking.

TIME FOR DECISION IN MALAYA

THE agreement with the British Government to grant full independence to Malaya in about 18 months' time is a triumphant achievement for Tunku Abdul Rahman and the Alliance Party. Any move to end a colonial connection must be welcomed as a step forward, and in the framework of nationalist upsurge in Asia it is well that the transfer of power should take place smoothly and by agreement.

Securing a promise of independence, however, was a simple task beside that which now faces the Federation Government in formulating a programme of social and economic development against the background of the Communist revolt from the jungles. The leaders of the United Malays National Organisation and the Malayan Chinese Association have in the past not sufficiently faced up to the realities of the situation in Malaya. The notion has become widespread, no less among the Alliance than here in Britain, that "the Emergency" is a state of affairs which exists because a number of dangerous bandits with Communist convictions are terrorising the countryside. But the revolt is not dacoity, nor is it carried on by a disgruntled mob who are terrorising for the sake of terrorising and killing for the sheer joy of it.

Over the past eight years the number in the jungle has remained fairly constant in spite of large numbers killed and captured by British forces operating against them. This surely indicates that the rebel cause has some attraction notwithstanding the privations. And the co-operation of the villagers with the rebels has not by any means been given entirely on the basis of threats. The revolt that Chin Peng leads is symptomatic of a situation which does exist among certain sections of the people in Malaya. This situation has been caused through a feeling of nationalistic and economic discontent of which the jungle revolt is the extreme and violent expression.

Last summer the people gave vent to this feeling by voting overwhelmingly for the Alliance candidates in

the elections because here was a party of all Malayan nationalities that could take the lead in guiding the people towards the achievement of their nationalistic aspirations. The reason Chin Peng and the rebels have responded unfavourably to the elected authority of the Alliance Government and refused to come out of the jungle, under the terms offered them, is because a factor exists in the state of Malayan affairs out of which the Communists think they can still benefit. Proper study has not so far been given to this factor which is that in the history of post-war Asian resurgence Malaya is the only country (except perhaps for Pakistan where the situation is, in any case, quite different) where leadership of nationalist feeling and movement has been imposed from the top by a party of "upper class," and to some extent rich, politicians.

The advantage such a situation gives the Communists is not fictitious. At the moment the Alliance Party has no broad base at the lower levels. The UMNO, it is true, reaches down more effectively to the villages than the MCA does, but in political terms the Alliance as a whole is a party of privilege whose position is vulnerable to the forces and emotions which are endemic in genuine basic Asian nationalism and resurgence.

This is the backcloth against which the recent agreement on independence must be assessed. Nationalism is not a purely anti-colonial mechanism; much of its driving force derives from economic discontent, and the Federation Government, if it is to succeed in independent Malaya, will have to bring relief on the lower plane, and provide the ordinary people with the kind of leadership which is suited to their needs.

Criticism of the London agreement is that it fails to recognise that the Communist revolt is part of the larger social and economic problem of Malaya, and that it has laid the foundation for measures to end the Emergency which will obscure the real issues and involve Malaya in the negative and enervating processes of an anti-Communist front. With the young radical elements not

yet convinced that the kind of thinking that activates the Alliance Government is such as to promote economic and social programmes that would be beneficial to the people if they were detrimental to the class which constitutes the upper crust of the MCA and UMNO, suspicions are aroused that the defence clauses in the agreement are designed to maintain the Government in power no matter how inadequate and misguided the policy.

The Alliance is inclined to be a little complacent because — mainly through brilliant organisation — it gained 51 out of 52 seats at the elections. It should not be led to believe by this success that it will always carry the people with it. The MCA must begin to push its roots down into the kampongs and among the politically

conscious urban Chinese; the UMNO has to consolidate what support it already has at the lower levels. The solution to the jungle revolt is not a military one. Time has shown that it never was. If the Alliance Government can confront Chin Peng with a set of progressive and dynamic ideas for Malaya's future which would include a legalised Communist Party in a democratic framework, the revolt would have no further political purpose.

The next year and a half in Malaya will be decisive. but if the Tunku and his Ministry never lose sight of the ultimate fact that in Asia it is the lowly peasant who has always been the catalyst of a government's success or ruin, then there is no reason why Malaya should not endure the stable and independent future which her friends have always believed was her right.

TOWARDS INDONESIAN STABILITY

WITHIN the next few weeks the new Government will be formed in Indonesia. This is an event of some importance not only as far as Indonesia itself is concerned but in Asian affairs as a whole. On the composition of the government will depend whether the country can go smoothly ahead with a five-year plan of development with a stability which has hitherto been lacking in Jakarta politics. Recent events in Indonesia's relations with the Dutch have played their part in setting the stage for political manoeuvres which are going on in Jakarta at the moment.

There has been little realisation how far the recent Geneva talks between the Dutch and the Indonesians on the two issues of dissolution of the Union that theoretically bound the two countries, and of West Irian (Dutch New Guinea) affected the future outlook of Indonesian policy. The prestige of the present caretaker Masjumi Government of Mr. Harahap rested on achieving something tangible out of the Geneva discussions because, had they been able to do so, the Masjumi could have laid a more forceful claim to a dominant role in the new Government (which is likely now to be a coalition between the Nationalists, Masjumi, and the Nahdatul Ulama), as well as having almost the final word in the nomination of twenty members who represent the minorities in Parliament. As the Masjumi Party is generally regarded as the most pro-West party in Indonesia it would have seemed only sensible for the Dutch to foster them and bring the talks to an end successfully so that the hand of the Masjumi — and especially that of the old guard of the party — could be strengthened. The reason why the Dutch allowed the talks to breakdown on the technical point about arrangements in the event of a dispute, is a matter for speculation. The Dutch seem to have been unaware at Geneva that the whole future relationship between Indonesia and the West might well have rested on the course the negotiations took.

It is not unlikely that the question of West Irian was

the key to the breakdown. The Netherlands is determined not to relinquish its control of this last remnant of the old eastern Dutch empire, but the United Nations has on two occasions pressed the two parties concerned to settle the issue and it may well be that opinion in Holland saw the colony in danger of being negotiated away as agreement followed agreement at Geneva. By bringing the talks to a deadlock in the certain knowledge that Indonesia would abrogate the Union unilaterally, the Hague could later plead that Indonesia was an irresponsible party to the dispute over Irian and refuse to negotiate further.

Whatever the reason that prompted the Dutch, the decision to abrogate by the Masjumi Government has put a different complexion on Indonesian politics. The field has been left clear for the next Government to take a much more severe line with the Dutch. As it is, in fact, now necessary for it to do so, left-of-centre elements in all parties, who see more or less eye to eye, have had their claims to power strengthened. The trial of strength going on behind the political scene in Indonesia is between the younger and the older guard. The younger men, who retain much of the original nationalistic and revolutionary spirit, have watched with increasing annoyance and frustration the older groups slipping into a kind of bourgeois comfort. The various upheavals which occurred last year in the army had their roots in the same feeling of frustration that the impetus was prematurely going out of the nationalist upsurge. Political thinking among the older groups is to some extent influenced by their westernised education and their philosophical, political and economic ideas derive from the historical factors which shaped European development. Indonesian problems need new processes of thought which the younger men in political life feel the older are not able to grasp. The younger generation of politicians — not confined to any single party — possess the dynamism to restore a sense of purpose, and thus bring stability, to the administration in Indonesia.

Stability is the essential. It has been the absence of it that, in the past, has resulted in criticism of the Government in Jakarta, and the reason why foreign business has been cautious about giving credit to Indonesia. With stability the new Government should be able to undertake its multiplicity of tasks with confidence; but it will not be able to do this without outside economic help. Now the Dutch connection with Indonesia has been loosened great opportunities exist for other countries to trade. It is a clear policy of the young guard to put the emphasis on trade and not aid, but all in Indonesia recognise that some aid will be necessary. They are determined, however, that aid will not become the dominant factor in the country's budget, for no country can feel free to conduct a sovereign policy as long as it is existing on charity. Because Indonesian poli-

ticians are conscious of the implications in dealing with either America or the Soviet Union at this time, they would like to think Britain could, to some extent, take the place of Dutch business and help the country develop its industrial and hydro-electric potential. With Indonesia's foreign exchange position stronger than a year ago extensive possibilities are there for Britain to expand her export market. But any offer that looks as if it has the smallest string attached will, without doubt, be rejected.

Indonesia has difficult times ahead in a difficult world. She is in a key position in Asia. Her new Government will have to face temptations and pressures from many sides, but if the right elements emerge in Jakarta the country will have the strength and stability to resist them.

BUILDING THE NEW KASHMIR

By Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed

(Prime Minister of Kashmir)

THE last six years in India have been marked by intense activity in all fields of life and what has already been achieved is an earnest sign of the nation's desire to forge ahead towards a richer life. India may justly rejoice at the prominent position that she has come to occupy among the nations of the world by virtue of her persistent efforts at reducing international conflicts and promoting peace and friendship among peoples and Governments of the world. The positive contribution made by our country in this respect has already won recognition and acclaim in all parts of the world and the policies pursued by the Indian Government under the guidance of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru have yielded fruitful results both at home and abroad. Under his illustrious leadership, India will undoubtedly march forward along with the rest of peace-loving mankind.

The universal desire for peace which has inspired the Indian people is the result of a basic necessity which we feel not only for the preservation of our cultural and spiritual heritage but also for the economic regeneration of our country. Centuries of neglect and callous inattention had reduced our people to a state of drudgery and wretchedness. With the coming of independence, our Government was faced with gigantic tasks of raising the material, moral and social standards of the people with the meagre resources that were available to them.

The successful conclusion of our First Five Year Plan has given the country an enthused sense of achievement. Besides innumerable enterprises, some of which are unique in Asia, India has greatly progressed towards social organisation, political unity and discipline. The resources of the country have considerably enhanced both in material wealth as well as in trained and skilled manpower. Even at this time, which is still only the beginning of the development

towards democracy and prosperity, India's future role as a leading progressive nation is already visible.

Association with India

The State of Jammu and Kashmir, which is associated with this great Republic, has shared in the progress that has been achieved in the rest of the country. Consequently, the people here are feeling proud of being part and parcel of this joint family. The continued association of our State with the Republic of India has provided our people with limitless possibilities of economic and social progress, and has enabled us to surmount our difficulties during the most critical period of our history. The existence of a strong national movement inside the State and its bonds of relationship with the mainstream of the Indian democratic movement made it possible for us to wage a successful fight against the forces of political reaction and economic oppression.

The Constitution of India enabled our people to terminate the hereditary rule of the Prince and to abolish landlordism thereby liberating our peasantry from the yoke of an out-moded feudal system. It also enabled us to set up a Constituent Assembly for shaping the future of the State according to the wishes of the people.

As is well-known, the Jammu and Kashmir State became a part of free India at a very critical time of its history. This great event took place when Pakistan-led tribesmen from the North-West Frontier Province invaded the State and occupied a large stretch of its territories. It was the timely arrival of the Indian Army and its heroic resistance that saved the city of Srinagar and the rest of the beautiful Valley of Kashmir, from sword and fire, from slavery and oppression.

The accession of the State to India and the establishment of a popular representative Government in the State created an exceptionally favourable condition for the social and economic prosperity of our oppressed and poverty-stricken people. For the first time in several centuries an opportunity came the way of the Kashmiri people to shake off their chains of slavery and wage war against all those social and economic ills which had been generated by an antiquated social system. It was time to seize the opportunity and direct all our energies for banishing poverty and stamping out ignorance and disease from our fair land. It was the time to build the happy, prosperous New Kashmir of our dreams.

Unfortunately, a section of the National Conference leadership failed to accomplish this and advocated a course which contradicted the fundamental principles of the national movement in the State and threatened to disturb peaceful conditions in Kashmir. The dangerous course of action blocked our progress and tended to reverse the process of political emancipation of the Kashmir people. Above all, this adventurous attitude jeopardised the structure and stability of the State besides undermining its links with the Indian people.

It was at this crucial hour in Kashmir's history that the patriotic forces rallied round the National Conference and saved the land from the impending catastrophe. It was, no doubt, painful for all of us to part company with the dissenting colleagues with whom we had worked during the last two decades. But the security of our land and the freedom of our people happened to be more vital and dear to us than personal considerations.

The establishment of a new Government in August, 1953, was a turning point in the history of our State. This event drastically changed conditions for cementing our bonds with India once and for all. In February, 1954, six months after the formation of the new Government, our democratically-elected Constituent Assembly ratified the State's accession with India, the decision about which had been taken in October, 1947. Accordingly, the President issued on May 4, 1954, the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order 1954. The Order defined in constitutional terms the connection of the State with India and finalised the relationship.

The Constituent Assembly's ratification of the State's accession with India ended the agonising uncertainty about the future disposition of Kashmir. It created confidence in all parts of the State and among all sections of the people.

It was this sense of certainty and the series of reforms introduced by the present Government which went a long way in changing our internal situation.

Development Measures

As soon as the present Government came to power, it adopted a series of measures to alleviate the chronic economic distress of the population. The price of foodstuffs was brought down to a level that was in keeping with the purchasing capacity of our people. The age-old system of procurement of foodgrains from the cultivators was abolished. This system was at the root of the discontent of our peasants.

Education was made free from primary to university stage. This measure was accompanied by an increase of about 40 per cent. in the number of educational institutions and of about 70 per cent. in the budget for education. An idea of the achievement made in the sphere of education can be obtained from the fact that during the last two years the number of educational institutions has increased by 500, although the total number of educational institutions did not exceed 1,000 during the last several centuries.

Similarly, the Government took steps to make medical aid facilities more plentiful. The main emphasis was laid on the expansion and availability of these facilities in the far-flung and backward areas of the State.

A network of irrigation canals was spread all over the State and a large stretch of waste land was reclaimed for agricultural purposes. The Government is making every effort to improve the methods of farming and thus bring about an increase in the total yield of our foodgrains.

The collapse of tourist traffic to Kashmir had severely hit a number of the classes of people connected with the industry. But with the restoration of normal and stable conditions, tourists have once again started pouring in. The revival of traffic has been so brisk and fast that a record number of about 50,000 visitors came to Kashmir last year.

The Second Five-Year Plan, which is taking shape will further develop the economy of the State and lay a basis for further raising the living standards of our people.

We all realise that much more has still to be done and achieved. But we feel confident that with the assistance and cooperation of our people and with the help of the people in the rest of the country we shall overcome all our difficulties and ultimately emerge triumphantly in our effort of building the happy New Kashmir of our dreams. The journey has begun and we are travelling forward hopefully.

REFLECTIONS ON GOA

By G. S. Bhargava (New Delhi)

ON the sixth anniversary of the Indian Republic on January 26 last, the country, engaged in economic reconstruction, found itself distracted by a sharp clash of linguistic loyalties let loose by an attempt at reorganisation of the States. The scars of these internecine quarrels may last for some time but the frenzy with which the problem is now approached will

soon exhaust itself and will yield place to reason and understanding.

But there is another matter affecting India, which is not of such passing significance. It is the integration of the Portuguese possessions on the Indian soil with the rest of the country. Like the freedom struggle during the British period and the

States' reorganisation issue today, the Goa problem, as the question of Portuguese possessions is broadly known, touches Indians emotionally. Last August 15, when about 25 unarmed Indian *satyagrahis* were shot dead by the Portuguese, it seemed doubtful whether Prime Minister Nehru would be able to resist the popular demand for "police action" against the Portuguese.

The Soviet leaders, Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev, could see during their triumphant tour down the Ganga the intensity of feeling about Goa and on the basis that the Portuguese rule there represented the last vestiges of colonialism on Indian soil cleverly used it to their own advantage. The Dulles-Cunha statement, which was supposed to be Washington's counterblast to the Russian leaders' psychological success in India, released the floodgates of Indian antipathy on an already unpopular US. It revealed once again the depth of feeling on the question.

Why does the Goa problem touch Indian emotions to the quick? A look at the origin and development of Portuguese rule over these tiny territories will supply the answer to the question. The Portuguese preceded the British and the French in setting up colonies in India. But the pattern of their rule has from the beginning been different. While the British hold on India was political and economic, the Portuguese developed religious and cultural supports to their regime. It was a typical case of trader turning preacher to become ultimately the ruler.

Even in the heyday of their colonial rule, the Portuguese preferred to occupy commercial centres. Their political rule did not at any time extend beyond the territory under their military control. Thus, Diu, Daman and Goa have never been anything more than what they are today—three tiny, isolated pockets of Portuguese influence within a vast land mass of Indian territory.

In his memoirs (*Select Letters of Tippoo Sultan*, 1811) Tippoo Sultan revealed that

"the Portuguese Nazarenes established themselves about 300 years ago in a factory situated near the seashore and on the banks of a large river (Goa) . . . Availing themselves of the opportunities which arose, they acquired possession of a territory . . . throughout which they equally prohibited fasts and prayers among the Musselman inhabitants and the worship of idols among the Hindus; finally expelling thence all who refused to embrace their religion . . . Some of the people, alarmed at this proceeding, abandoned their property and homes and took refuge in other countries. But the greater part, considering the threatened danger improbable and not possessing the means of removing their effects, preferred to remain—whereupon these infidel Nazarenes, at the end of the appointed time, obliged them all to embrace their false religion."

Francis Buchanan corroborates this in his *Journey From Madras Through The Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*:

"The principal inhabitants of Hosso-betta and many of the towns in Tulava are Kankanies, or people descended from the natives of

Kankana (Konkan). They say they fled here to avoid persecution at Govay (Goa), their native country . . . An order arrived from the king of Portugal to convert all the natives. The Viceroy, when this order arrived, was, they say, a very lenient, good man and permitted all the natives who chose to retire to carry their effects with them and allowed them 15 days to arrange their affairs. Accordingly, all the rich people, Brahmins and Sudras, retired to Tulava with such of their property as they could in that time realise and they now chiefly subsist by trade . . . The poor Kankanies who remained behind at Goa were, of course, all converted to what was called Christianity."

The consequent cultural hiatus between Goans and Indians (to use the terminology of the Government of India) is the bedrock on which the Portuguese colonial set-up in India rests. While many Indians have taken to the study of English, mainly with a view to economic betterment, they have not allowed their love for their regional languages to suffer on that account. Thus, linguistic patriotism, which is a veritable Frankenstein today, was in the British period a manifestation of nationalist sentiment. But not so with the Goans. They have not only accepted Portuguese as their official language but to their Konkani, a scriptless dialect of Marathi, they have given Roman script, bringing it nearer to the European languages than to their Indian counterparts. Even at the height of the nationalist movement in India, the Portuguese pockets remained isolated from the rest of the sub-continent. It was common to hear Goans exclaim with their characteristic mannerisms: "We are not Indians, man; we are Portuguese."

While they perfected the art of cultural imperialism, the Portuguese did nothing to upset the economic status quo, which again is to their advantage today. The social set-up in Goa is a remnant of pre-feudal times, free, unlike the rest of India, from the bane of landlordism. The area of the Portuguese possessions is 1,470 square miles, of which Goa alone accounts for 1,300 square miles. Except for three main towns and a handful of secondary ports the rest is all country, where the medieval Indian system of *panchayat raj* (governance by communes) is still in vogue. The land is collectively owned and cultivated no doubt by primitive methods, and the harvest, minus the cost and taxes, is shared by all. Even absentee members of the commune (those who have migrated to Bombay or Portuguese East Africa in search of employment) have their meagre shares kept intact for them. The population, poor and backward, is concentrated in the villages which are more sleepy than their Indian counterparts. There is no strife of any kind, class, caste or religious.

The standard of life is miserably low, like the yield from the land. Lacking means of transportation and an internal market, cultivators have no incentives for raising production. The only way they know to raise their family income is migration to Bombay, where thousands of Goan men and women are in employment. Their dependents in Goa supplement their paltry income from land with remittances received from India.

Hitherto it was a carefree, gay existence for many of them. With no ambitions to spur them and no political awakening to stir them, they were sophisticated in their simplicity. Compared to adjacent Indian territory, food, drink and consumer goods were very cheap (even today it is so. A bottle of Scotch whisky which in the "open black market" in Bombay costs as much as Rs. 47 and is sold at Rs. 36 in Delhi, is available for Rs. 11 in Goa). There was enough to eat and drink and there were no restrictions, as in Bombay, on dance and music. Other things, such as civil liberties and citizenship rights, did not matter even to middle class Goans.

Now the ban on remittances to Goa, imposed by the Government of India in the name of economic sanctions, will hit these people hard and, considering their indifference to politi-

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problems and cultural background, will further antagonise them towards India.

In contrast to the peasantry and the middle class, Government employees and the army personnel are well off in Goa. Their pay rates are good and they enjoy many amenities which are denied to others. Since the launching of the *satyagraha* last year, their power and prestige, too, have grown beyond recognition. There is another section of the population which thrives on across-the-border smuggling. Imposition of total prohibition in Bombay, with its many loopholes, has been a boon to smugglers, who have a vested interest in Goa continuing as a separate entity. Constituting a very vocal section of the people, the smuggler class, together with the officials and the military, influence whatever public opinion exists in Goa.

India's economic blockade, if it had not been so belated, would have had a crippling effect on the economy of the colony and even adversely affected its political set-up, for Goa's trade was mainly with adjacent Indian territory. As long ago as in 1911, the value of exports to India was estimated at £148,611, whereas exports to Portugal were worth only £137. The main source of Portuguese revenue was the customs duty on trade which, being mainly with India, would now be affected. Imports including foodstuffs, sugar, cotton, tobacco, kerosene, oxen and other livestock were from neighbouring districts of India; exports comprising industrial raw material, cashew nuts, mangoes fish, coir, etc., were also mostly to Bombay.

But during the last one and half years, the Portuguese authorities have made alternative arrangements for the import of necessary goods as well as for the export of home products. The recently forged air link with Karachi is an important factor in this respect. Secondly, self-sufficiency being the keynote of the Goan village economy, it will not be difficult for the people to adjust themselves to a situation wherein there will be neither exports nor imports. Finally, expediency may force Portugal to try what she had neglected for 400 years, the development of an economic basis to their regime by grafting a semi-industrial set-up on the primitively rural economy.

To add to the political indifference of the Goans nothing they have seen in neighbouring Bombay attracts them to India. The emphasis of the Bombay authorities on the moral uplift of the people to the neglect of their material well-being looks like a killjoy approach to the Goans with their flair for gaiety. While in India Independence and the development schemes undertaken in its wake have a rich-man bias, leaving the slums, the landless labour and the poor peasantry almost untouched, in Goa, the Goans claim, people are uniformly poor.

The present Indian efforts to liberate Goa have to be viewed against the above backdrop. In 1946, the Portuguese were visibly upset by the *satyagraha* movement launched by the Indian socialists. The Indo-Portuguese border was not then sealed as it is now, and the base of operations was Goan territory itself and not the Indian border as now. Conscious of the strong nationalist movement then confronting the mighty British Government and aware also of British preparations to quit India, the Portuguese felt that only a show of force would insure their position as colonialists on Indian soil.

Accordingly, about two score leaders of the *satyagraha* movement were exiled to Devil's Island, where they are still languishing. At home, the civil disobedience movement was put down with an iron hand. The Portuguese feared that after the withdrawal of the British, the Indian nationalist movement would be diverted in its full fury on their precarious regime and tried to forestall it. They also realised that world public opinion would reason that what was sauce for the British goose would also be sauce for the Portuguese gander. Even more important, the

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popular movement in Goa was then in a position to sway Lisbon, provided the necessary psychological support was forthcoming from New Delhi.

After the hue and cry raised by Pakistan in the United Nations and elsewhere over the Indian police action in Hyderabad, Lisbon knew that any effort by India to eject her from Goa could be made an international issue. Since there was no constitutional or administrative machinery in Goa under which public opinion could assert itself, Portugal knew she would never find herself in the position that forced Britain and France to quit India. Neither the United Nations nor any of its agencies could do anything in the matter. Even if Lisbon could be persuaded to hold a referendum, which is highly unlikely, conditions in the possessions are hardly conducive to a fearless expression of the popular will. Dr. Gaitonde, an eminent physician of Goa, was sometime ago exiled to Portugal for having expressed sympathy with the nationalist movement, to cite only one of many such incidents.

Thus ensued the present stalemate. Nehru himself has no illusions about the economic sanctions applied against the Portuguese possessions but in the context of the growing demand in the country for more positive steps to free Goa they have immense propaganda value at home. The Government of India seems to set store by diplomatic pressure which can be brought to bear upon Lisbon from London and Washington. Considering the realities of the situation, which are that to both the UK and the US, friendship with Portugal, a NATO partner, is as indispensable as that with India occupying such an important place in Asia and that abandonment of Goa, Diu and Daman will have serious political repercussions in Portugal which its present rulers cannot afford, diplomatic pressure will be as ineffective as economic blockade.

ASIA AND THE U.S. ELECTIONS

By *Ralph Friedman (Eugene, U.S.A.)*

IN November, millions of Americans will go to the polls to cast their ballots in the presidential election. It seems doubtful at this writing that any issue related to Asia will be an explicit, conscious factor in the minds of most voters. But, conversely, it is likely that matters projecting out of Asian affairs will be important on election day, though recognisable only to those who probe beneath the subliminal threshold of the political mind. For Asia has impinged itself on the national conscience, though the substance may not be recognised for the form.

It is not beyond the realm of possibility that the Republican right wing may seize to regain the initiative it held during the hysteria-ridden years of McCarthy by again screaming that the "leftists," all of whom were "protected" by the Democratic Administration, "sold China down the river," or "gave China to the Reds."

Actually, if I may make parenthetical comment, it was the Democrats, not the Republicans, who instituted the so-called "Loyalty Programme," which provided the rationale for McCarthy and McCarthyism. If McCarthy should accuse those who opened the door to gigantic "Red hunts," massive red-baiting and an era of fear and cowardice as being "Reds" themselves, is this so odd? History has known stranger contradictions of logic.

The Republicans will most certainly run as the "Peace Party" and will make much of the fact that the Korean truce came during the Eisenhower regime, that the "Reds were stopped in Indo-China," that Eisenhower did go to Geneva "in an effort to lessen tension," and that Dulles has built "bastions against Communism throughout the world."

Right now, in the United States, we have witnessed a furious exchange of verbal blows between two governors. The Republican executive accused the Democrats of having involved the United States in three wars—World War I, World War II, and the Korean War. This gentleman did not even resort to inference and innuendo—he bluntly spelled out the charges he made in simple, savage terms. The Democratic Governor, momentarily stunned, recovered sufficiently to inquire what the Republicans would have done if they had been in power in 1917 and 1941.

Our winged sage, John Foster Dulles, has given the Democrats some undeserved ammunition by proudly stating, in a manner of licking his chops, that the United States, under Eisenhower, three times advanced boldly to the brink of war, but by dare and force of strength averted conflict. This is tantamount to saying that diplomacy is swaggering bluff, accompanied by an H-bomb in each hand. No doubt, the Democrats will not remain unvocal on this issue.

In his State of the Union message to Congress, Mr. Eisenhower, who surprised millions of quavering Americans by not being nearly as bellicose as they thought he would be, asserted that our relations with our allies were never better.

The Democrats have pounced upon this bit of naivete and are now trumpeting, for every voter to hear, that our rapport with the "rest of the free world" was never worse, and that these bonds are in the process of swift and scandalous erosion. The Democrats will also argue that our prestige in the United

Nations is at an all-time low, due to short-sighted diplomacy, blackjack methods of persuasion, a flaccid and vacillating programme, and the "backfiring of 'grand strategy,' which turned out to be a grabbag of willy-nilly tactics." The US no longer has an automatic majority in the UN. Even the "Banana Republics," having been skinned so often, are showing signs of independence.

Much of the above may indicate that the Democrats are, or profess themselves to be, political doves, dropping olive branches wherever they flutter. But closer examination will cast a shadow of disillusionment over this hypothesis.

First of all, the Democratic Party has its own right-wing which is as reactionary as the Republican right-wing. Senator Eastman, for example, who hails—in acrimonious fashion—from the feudal shire of Mississippi, has plans to repeal the 14th Amendment of our Constitution, which is the cornerstone of racial democracy in this nation. If Senator Eastman feels this way about the coloured peoples of his own country, what kind of generosity can he exude toward the coloured peoples of Asia and Africa? If political justice is not grown at home, what kind of charity is there for export?

Secondly, it is the Democrats, in large measure, who are calling for bigger arms budgets and who are urging the government onward to breakneck speed in the research and production of nuclear weapons. In comparison to the majority of Democratic senators, Defence Secretary Charles Wilson, the former General Motors magnate, is a most pacific soul.

Some of these Democrats are known as "liberals," a term which, when applied to foreign policy, seems to mean an eloquent fellow with a loaf of bread in one hand and a machine gun in the other. Little wonder that George Kennan, the leading "club and carrot" ideologist, is warmly welcomed in these "liberal" circles.

The issue of the admittance of China to the UN most probably will not arise in the 1956 elections, except for most candidates to be against it, although here and there some office seeker, calling for increased foreign trade as a way to "maintain prosperity," may take a positive stand on this issue.

In 1954 a young attorney from Eugene, Oregon, Charles O. Porter, challenged the Republican representing the fourth congressional district of this State, and while not winning polled 40 per cent. of the vote—the highest a Democrat has polled in this district for decades. Since Mr. Porter spoke favourably for admittance of China to the world body of sovereign states and yet did so well, it must be assumed that the electorate is not as vicious on this question as the press would have you believe.

Few will be as bold in 1956 as Mr. Porter was in 1954—and will be again this year—but the recognition of China as a nation is beginning to emerge, and that is an important fact of political life, a precursor of recognition.

At this writing, most Democrats, including the "liberal" senators, are sorely and vociferously opposed to China's entry into the United Nations. For instance, Senator Neuberger of Oregon, who is very good on domestic issues, gloats about his membership in the "Committee of One Million," an organisa-



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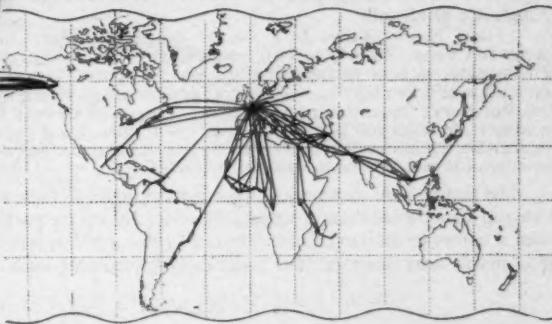
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tion whose explicit purpose is to keep China out of the UN, and which subtly and not so subtly encourages things not to the best interests of the Chinese People's Republic.

Senator Neuberger recently wrote that he was against any nation shooting its way into the United Nations. How he thinks the present government of Guatemala got its seat, or what he thinks of Franco Spain and some South American countries I could name, would be interesting to know.

While there are some politicians of the Knowland stripe (he who has been dubbed the "Senator from Formosa") who would insist on all major candidates taking a pledge not to admit China to the UN, the question of Formosa and the character of Chiang-Kai-shek is beginning to haunt even these die-hards. The deeds (or mis-deeds, to be more precise) of Chiang are coming to life with the terrifying effect of Banquo's ghost. The "liberals," who take their exercise by flailing away mightily at China, want no part of Chiang. An ideal solution for those impaled on the horns of this dilemma would be to declare China and Formosa non-existent, and to give Chiang's seat in the UN to Sardinia.

Much has been written about the position Adlai Stevenson, who is expected to receive the Democratic nomination, will take in the 1956 elections. Mr. Stevenson is supposed to be a genuine liberal. In America "liberalism" is often more a matter of mechanics than of persuasion. One who speaks well, who can turn a neat phrase, who is apparently free of emotion and agitation (which make one a radical), who seems to stand aloof in Olympian mien, who is impervious to querulous men and petty issues, and who consorts with intellectuals, is a liberal, at least to many of the "enlightened" middle class. Mr. Stevenson is such a man.

Stevenson has attacked the Eisenhower foreign policy in lofty terms, but when his statements are placed under the microscope, we find precious little difference between the aims of each. This fact, despite strong denials on the part of the Democratic hierarchy, is becoming plain to increasing numbers of Independents and rank-and-file Democrats. Two examples will perhaps suffice:

In the Christmas issue of the *Los Angeles Times*, one of the nation's largest and most influential newspapers, there appeared a letter written by a disabled war veteran, Carl Dorio, who certainly echoes the sentiments of silent tens of thousands, and perhaps millions. Because the letter is so indicative of much thinking on the subject, I would like to quote it in full:

"Those of us who have been permanently disabled in war, who have growing children and who yearn for peace, well-being, goodwill toward all men, cannot experience anything but apprehension and even alarm whenever a spokesman for the Democratic party makes a declaration of policy and politics.

"Have the Democrats become the war party? Every recent statement by Mr. Truman and by Mr. Harriman indicates, clearly, that they oppose the relaxation of international tensions, the attempts made at Geneva to negotiate rather than resort to war.

"And to my dismay, even Mr. Stevenson, known for his moderation and sound judgment, is 'critical' of the progress toward peaceful solution of problems made during 1955.

"To state that when a national figure in the Democratic party makes a speech today he throws a million votes into the lap of Eisenhower is of course joking about the most serious problem of our time. But it may well be a fact that should the Democrats continue as the real prophets of gloom the people will render their decision by whipping them as no political party has ever been in the history of our nation. And their utter rout will be thoroughly justified.

"For when Mr. Truman, Mr. Harriman, Mr. Stevenson argue against negotiation and settlement of issues and are 'critical' of the achievements made during 1955 they do not set themselves against President

Eisenhower or the Republicans but against the fondest, the most cherished wishes of the American people.

"In my opinion, that party should win, and will, nationally, in 1956, which will clearly guarantee us, the American people, well-being at home, progress in the civil rights of all people and peace and goodwill toward all men and nations."

"In his Chicago speech, November 19, 1955, Mr. Stevenson said in part, 'Let us, indeed, remember that who plays politics with peace will lose at both.'

"Mr. Stevenson and all Democrats would do well to heed this sound judgment rather than invite political disaster in 1956."

Frontier, a monthly magazine with strong Democratic leanings, editorialised in the January, 1956 issue:

"People have cause to wonder aloud how Stevenson's foreign policy differs materially from that of Eisenhower. They may agree with Stevenson that the aggrandisement of world communism continues despite the Geneva conferences, but are they to infer that Stevenson views all top-level diplomatic conferences less favourably than does Eisenhower?"

On Civil Rights—especially for Negroes, Mr. Stevenson is under attack from many quarters. *Frontier* states the issue well, though not at all fully:

"Many Negro leaders have already expressed concern over Stevenson's views. As long as small coloured boys can be murdered in Mississippi without protection of the law, Stevenson's moderate approach to reform will strike most Negroes as distressingly inadequate. And Stevenson's frequent trips to the South, along with those of his lieutenants, Mitchell and Butler, have given rise to speculation among Negroes that he has made a deal on civil rights in return for support. Stevenson has said nothing to quiet the rumours."

The fact is, here in America, we will have more of Tweedle-dum and Tweedledee than of sharp differences among the parties when it comes to foreign affairs. The chief talking points will be upon points long dissected (but historically inaccurate), such as

"Who let the Communists gobble up China?" Each party will claim to have without error analysed the past and to have without error predicted the events stemming from their masterful analyses. Both Republicans and Democrats will call upon the voters to regard the favoured candidates, especially those running for high offices, as perspicacious when it comes to dealing with the "Reds," and therefore ought to be elected, since it takes abnormally shrewd men to deal on even terms with those wily, cunning Communists.

There is no rune about the lack of limited (in ideas, not words) discussion to follow. The two party system in America not only narrows the choice of candidates, it sharply curtails the area of discussion and the supply of ideas available to the citizenry.

In 1948, the Progressive Party presented a platform for peace, prosperity and civil rights which caught the fancy of voters hungry for creative ideas and apprehensive of war and depression. The Democrats, running scared, as the phrase goes, expropriated much of the Progressive Party platform and rode to victory on the shirt-tails of those whose garments they were smearing with abuse.

Today there is no Progressive Party in America. There is no relatively large, coherent, articulate group to challenge the Siamese Twin platforms of both major parties. It now remains for the rank-and-file of both parties and of the voice of the independent voter to force a positive programme for peace upon the heads of both parties. How well they will succeed no one can tell, but one thing is certain: the people of the United States are far more for peace, and actions to insure a genuine, equitable peace, than even the opportunistic politicians realise.

CONCEPT OF U.S. AID

By J. W. T. Cooper (EASTERN

WORLD Diplomatic Correspondent)

IN the past few years the United States has built up a vast aid programme to the countries of the Middle and Far East amounting to something like \$20,000 million. President Eisenhower at the beginning of this year sought the permission of Congress to continue and expand this pattern of aid to the Asian area, and at this time there is much heart-searching and controversy on how far American assistance has achieved the results which its supporters have always envisaged such a large and generous outlay of dollars should achieve.

There has always been a basic misconception in American minds about assistance to Asia. The motives involved have appeared clear cut in the United States because Americans have reacted to the conditions which have shaped post-war Asian development with what they themselves have felt, and were convinced the Asian community should also have felt. The US has failed to understand that the revolutionary trend in the East has been an expression of nationalism and a movement towards self-determination pure and simple. As the trend in Asian development, generally speaking, assumed a Socialist pattern, many people in the West became alarmed lest the western democratic parliamentary idea failed to take root in the new Asia. Because the East was at a stage where a dynamic political approach could provide a quick answer to the

area's problems of development, the idea became firmly fixed in American minds that Asia was vulnerable to Communism. The reason for American assistance—it might almost be said to be a pre-condition—is that the countries of Asia should recognise the virtue of the parliamentary system and free enterprise economy. The attempt to bring relief to the social problems of Asia by an economic system that does not work in the Asian framework has given the wrong emphasis to the desire to help, and has only resulted in affronting Asian dignity and arousing suspicions that a new sort of colonialism is at work in the area. The bulk of the aid has fallen into the hands of a chosen few who have derived large personal benefits to the detriment of the dispossessed. The obsession in the United States with the dangers of Communism has coloured the direction of assistance more and more in recent years so that any idea that there might at one time have been, that aid was necessary for its own sake, has been completely eclipsed by the notion that the main reason for aid is to combat Communism.

Increasingly the United States has come to look upon economic assistance as the second prong in the defensive front against Communism. And in recent years it has become apparent that America believes the most desirable



“.. AND WILDERNESS WERE PARADISE ENOW!”

(Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam)

form of assistance is a joint economic and military aid programme to “ save ” certain areas from Communist encroachment. There is, of course, a genuine feeling of fear in the United States that the American way of life is threatened by Communism, and when Americans talk in terms of “ losing Asia,” they really mean a loss of support there for the preservation of the kind of social and political existence prevailing in the West. And those Asian countries which accept US military and economic aid are expected to become allies in the defence of this system. Basically this is the condition attached to US aid.

The uncommitted countries of the region quite properly take the view that to be friends is desirable, to be allies is not; and to receive assistance on the condition, or assumption, that it means supporting a particular idea or way of life against another, compromises the freedom those countries have so recently achieved. If the existing programme of American aid to certain countries in the East had produced results which could be shown to be successful in helping the peoples towards a sense of achievement and fulfilment, or even in creating contented and stable allies of the US in Asia, the neutral nations might have been impressed by example. But no such results are apparent, for it is no exaggeration to say that in most, if not all, of those Asian and Middle Eastern countries receiving US economic and military assistance the Governments are in something of a precarious position and maintain authority by the proximity of American power, and among the people (the majority of whom are peasants)

there is a seething strata of discontent. In no case has direct aid from the West lessened the nationalistic revolutionary fervour of the people, and in no country have the underprivileged benefited to an extent comparable to the amount of dollars expended.

Recent reports from Indo-China show that the large expenditure of US dollars has failed in its purpose. Assistance has not won the people of South Viet Nam over to supporting the philosophy or ideology of the “ free world.” The true facts are that there has been an increased determination for free expression of nationalistic ideals, which, as far as the people of South Viet Nam are concerned, means support for the Viet Minh. Viet Nam is the most obvious example of failure, but it occurs elsewhere. While official Japanese circles express gratitude for the \$150 million extended to Japan since the occupation, there are outspoken criticisms of the reasons for which assistance is given. The *New York Times* said in January that “ there is no question that Japan is rearming unwillingly,” and went on to quote the chief editorial writer of the *Asahi Shimbun*, Japan’s leading newspaper, as saying that economic aid “ should not be accompanied by political conditions.” A few weeks ago the Economic Planning Board of the Japanese Government said in a pamphlet that American aid is causing resentment rather than gratitude in Japan. The US, said the pamphlet, uses aid as an outlet for unwanted surpluses without regard for the needs of recipient countries. The truth of what the pamphlet says is borne out by the large amounts of cheese, for which the

Vietnamese have an intense dislike, being sent to Indo-China.

In Thailand, considered by many to be America's best ally in Asia, voices are being raised in opposition to the effect of US assistance. The argument is that American businessmen dominate Siamese commerce and create powerful lobbies which use the excuse of anti-Communism to work against the people. The same trend in criticism has been heard from Pakistan where certain political circles have shown concern at the country receiving economic and military aid on the condition that they link arms with America in an anti-Communist front.

There is a widespread feeling of annoyance and even alarm in the United States that recent Soviet friendly overtures and offers of assistance in South Asia and the Middle East have been generally well received, while American aid has been severely criticised. But officials in Washington have so far totally failed to understand why this should be, and to learn a lesson from it. In a statement appealing for support of President Eisenhower's long term aid programme, Mr. Dulles said in January that defeat in the economic contest in the Middle East and South-East Asia would be disastrous for the US. The Secretary of State's opinion that the way to counter Soviet efforts is by making the newly independent nations of Asia feel that their needs can best be satisfied if they become and remain part of the free world, leaves the field wide open for Russia, because in Soviet offers there are no such conditions of political alignment. Furthermore, as the Japanese pamphlet points out, Russian aid is not only given without a stated political motive, but it fits in favourably with the pattern of trade most suited to the recipient country. The Soviet supply of machinery and materials to Burma is given in exchange for surplus Burmese rice, and Egypt can pay in cotton for what she receives. It is doubtful whether the American economic pattern can cope with a challenge of this sort at this time.

The primary trouble, however, is the suspicion that exists in South-East Asia and the Middle East of American motives. This suspicion will not be overcome so long as aid is used to achieve political ends. The time has come, as EASTERN WORLD said in its January editorial, for the "formulation of a positive policy of friendship and co-operation."

UNITED STATES

Trans-Pacific Telepathy

From David C. Williams

(EASTERN WORLD correspondent in Washington)

WHAT are the Eisenhower Administration's intentions about Quemoy and Matsu? These tiny islands just off the mainland of China were a major (and unresolved) issue in the recent talks between the President and Prime Minister Eden, and they remain a major threat to the intended Republican campaign slogan of "Peace and Prosperity," or, in homelier language, "Everything's booming but the guns."

It is known that Chiang Kai-Shek has been strengthening rather than reducing, Nationalist garrisons on these islands. It is rumoured that the preparation of highways and airports on the mainland is proceeding apace. For the first time since the Bandung Conference, Premier Chou En-lai has spoken of the possible use of force in solving the Formosa question. Events therefore may be moving toward a showdown. There is no question in anyone's minds that the United States will react strongly to any attack upon Formosa itself. But what about Quemoy and Matsu?

One turns naturally for an answer to the article, "How Dulles Averted War," published in the January 16 issue of *Life* magazine. Henry Luce, the publisher of *Life* has disclaimed the original announcement that this article was based on an interview with Dulles, but it is widely believed that this was a "white lie" to protect the Secretary of State from his own discretion—Luce, as one Washington wit expressed it, "showed that he was willing to lay down his *Life* for a friend." Actually, it is understood that the interview was tape-recorded; many Democratic Senators would like to listen in, but Chairman Walter George of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has refused to requisition the tape.

In this article it is noted that a Congressional resolution was enacted last year authorising the President to use American military forces should the Chinese Communists attack Formosa. Then the author of the article adds, parenthetically and almost as if it were an afterthought of no consequence: "(Dulles) has never doubted, incidentally, that Eisenhower would have regarded an attack upon Quemoy and the Matsu as an attack upon Formosa.)"

That this question should be left dependent upon mental telepathy is all the more curious in view of the assertion, earlier in the article, that Dulles, after devoting "more thought to the subject of war and peace than any other man alive" had "isolated one of the major underlying causes of war: in a word, miscalculation."

"All the great wars of modern history, Dulles is convinced, were started by national leaders who thought they could get away with it. When they found out they could not, it was too late."

May Craig, one of the most persistent and aggressive of Washington correspondents, made a valiant effort to penetrate the fog at Mr. Dulles's press conference January 17:

Q. Mr. Secretary, you have said that our views should be made clear lest the enemy miscalculate and get into war. Why do we not make our position clear on Matsu and Quemoy?

A. I think it is clear.

Q. It is not clear to me, sir.

A. It is not clear to you because you, like me, cannot read the minds of the Chinese Communists. But to them I think it is quite clear.

Q. What do you think they think we mean to do?

A. I think that they think that if an attack is started there which comprehends a claim to take by force Formosa and the Pescadores that we will fight.

It is evident, despite his modest disclaimer, that Mr. Dulles is a persistent practitioner of the art of mental telepathy, reading not only President Eisenhower's mind but that of Premier Chou En-lai. Apropos of this, the weekly *New Republic* has put the hypothetical case—suppose the Chinese Communists intensify their artillery barrage against Quemoy, and perhaps also bomb the ships that bring the island food and arms. Will these developments "comprehend a claim" by the Chinese Communists to take Formosa? Or, to return to the language of mental telepathy:

"Do we think that they will think that we will think that we have been attacked?" No believers in this trans-Pacific telepathy, 52 leading American liberals some while ago offered the Administration a way out of the Quemoy-Matsu impasse. Declaring that "we support wholeheartedly your determination to defend Formosa and the Pescadores against Communist aggression," they urged the President "to use all the powers of your great office to prevent the United States from becoming engaged in hostilities over the possession of the islands of Quemoy and Matsu . . . (which) are inseparable from the mainland by reason of their situation and, as you observed some months ago, not essential to the defence of Formosa.

"We ask that you invoke the co-operation of other free nations, through the General Assembly of the United Nations or by direct consultation, to join with the United States in seeking a solution, in accordance with international law, which will remove the danger of war over the islands. In these negotiations, we urge that you make clear that the United States will not commit its forces to the defence of these islands and will not permit them to become a cause of war." The statement concluded by citing the evacuation of the Tachen Islands as a precedent for the evacuation of Quemoy and Matsu.

Perhaps this is what the Administration intends to do. Perhaps it is restrained from announcing this only by fear of the possible political repercussions. More and more Senators and Congressmen, however, are becoming concerned about the perilous fog of uncertainty which surrounds American intentions.

two billion dollars, or rose by 23 per cent. over 1954. This marked increase of Japanese exports has led to market resistance in overseas markets, particularly in the United States and in Great Britain. Strengthening of Japanese trading positions in Asian countries seems, therefore, imperative. However, co-operation between these countries and Japan is blocked by the yet unsolved reparations issue, particularly in the case of the Philippines and of Indonesia.

The Tokyo Meeting was of the opinion that no substantial promotion of trade and economic co-operation can be expected until the reparations problem is settled. The scope of co-operation between Japan and her Asian neighbours is wide. It includes not only trade, but also offers opportunities for fisheries and mining, for pearl culture and chemical industries, for electrification and communication as well as for general construction and development works. The diplomats in Tokyo urged, as an important means of implementation of this promotion programme, a more active participation in international and regional arrangements such as the Colombo Plan. While all participants in the meeting agreed on the importance of Japan's "economic diplomacy," the representatives from abroad saw their activities severely curtailed by the lack of sufficient funds. The budget for 1955, for instance, for Japan's share in the Colombo Plan, in which she is a donor member, was slightly higher than \$100,000. For 1956 it was reduced to only about \$40,000. This is only one indication of the serious financial handicap under which the Japanese foreign service has to operate. The Gaimusho had asked for an allocation of 14,200 million Yen (about 40 million

JAPAN

In the Asian Picture

From our Tokyo Correspondent

DURING the second half of January last, fifteen Japanese diplomatic and consular representatives from various Asian territories assembled in Tokyo under the chairmanship of the Foreign Minister, Mr. Shigemitsu. The object of the meeting was to discuss Japan's policy in Asian countries. In previous reports, this commentator has indicated the feeling prevailing in many circles in Tokyo that the rebuilding of Japan's political and economic position in Asia has not progressed in a measure desirable for the needs of Japan. Though technically the most advanced nation in Asia, Japan, the "orphan of Asia," still lives in a certain vacuum as far as her relations with other Asian countries are concerned. The Government of Japan, therefore, realises the necessity of emphasising its Asian diplomacy.

There are apparently three main reasons for the present activation of Japan's diplomatic operations in Asia. Firstly, the failure to obtain admission into the United Nations points to the need of greater co-operation with other Asian countries. This trend became more articulate after the Bandung Conference, in April 1955, where the Japanese delegates assiduously refrained from taking sides on controversial issues. Consequently, the question was raised "where does Japan stand in the affairs of Asia?" The second reason is the necessity of counter-balancing the deadlock in the negotiations with the Soviet Union. No mentionable progress has been achieved since the talks on "normalisation of relations" began last summer. The third, and most probably the overriding reason is the urgency to expand Japan's trade. This need exists despite her unprecedented post-war high in exports during 1955 which exceeded the amount of



Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies (left) and Tunku Abdul Rahman, Chief Minister of the Federation of Malaya, shaking hands after signing the report of the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Conference on 8 February, 1956

dollars) for the forthcoming financial year. The Ministry of Finance under Mr. Ichimada, former Governor of the Bank of Japan, was not willing to approve more than 6,300 million Yen, or less than half of the Gaimusho's proposed budget. Instead of an allocation for the establishment and the maintenance of Legations and Consulates General in six different countries as demanded, the Treasury sanctioned only one Legation and one Consulate General. Likewise, demands for Japanese participation in international associations and meetings were considerably cut.

The diplomats assembled in Tokyo also urged that greater emphasis be placed on cultural exchanges with other Asian countries. Visits to Japan by South-East Asian students, journalists, teachers and other intellectuals as well as a more active exchange of films and sportsmen should be encouraged. Some of the participants in the Conference pointed to the lack of enthusiasm in the leading universities of Japan to devote themselves to the more intensive study of Asian affairs, including the knowledge of the languages of the region.

An interesting discussion developed around the prospect of a second Asian-African conference during the current year, to follow up last year's meeting at Bandung. The prevailing opinion among the Japanese representatives assembled in Tokyo was that a second conference may not take place in the near future. Apart from the argument as to where the conference ought to be arranged, Colombo or Cairo, conflicts of interest among the Asian-African nations are becoming more intensive. For that reason, the original sponsors of the Bandung conference seem now reluctant to hold a second conference. The division between East and West is not as clear and recognisable in Asia as it is in Europe. In addition, the tension in the Middle East was also mentioned as a factor contributing to the postponement of the conference.

To regain entry into the Asian scene is not an easy task for Japan. The legacy of the Japanese Empire weighs heavily on those who have to try today to reconstruct Japan's political and economic position in Asia. But there is evidence—and on that note the diplomats in Tokyo closed their meeting—that many countries in South-East Asia consider Japan as their natural supplier of those goods and skills which they themselves cannot yet produce. However, Japan will have to meet the needs of her neighbours in co-ordination with her own requirements and without rousing suspicions of a renewed attempt at a "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere" of the thirties. The meeting of the diplomats in Tokyo was one more wary step on that difficult road.

Political Balance Sheet

From a Tokyo Correspondent

JAPAN'S foreign policy during 1955 presents something of a disappointing picture. The Gaimusho (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and the public are still smarting under the Russian and Formosan veto against Japan's admission into the United Nations, despite her years of untiring efforts and more than two thirds of support from member countries.

Nineteen-fifty-five had started with high hopes that Japan might be able to settle some of the outstanding issues left over from the preceding years. The new Hatoyama Government proclaimed an all-out effort to come to an understanding with the Communist countries, primarily Russia and China. World tension seemed to ease after the Geneva Summit Meeting.

In June 1955, Japan opened talks with the Soviet Union in London with a view to concluding the long outstanding peace treaty and to normalising relations. Optimism was high at the outset of the talks with the Russians, but it did not last long. After a number of sessions, the discussions ran aground, as the price asked by the Russians for peaceful co-existence proved to be exorbitant to the Japanese. As a result, the Government parties quarrelled bitterly with the opposing Socialists in the Diet (Parliament) over the timing and the conditions for normalising relations with the Soviet Union. The Government remained adamant on Japan's minimum conditions:—the return of occupied territories, particularly the Habomai and Shikotan islands north of Hokkaido and the repatriation of Japanese nationals detained in Russia. The Socialists suggested interim arrangements to speed up the repatriation pending the signing of a formal peace treaty. Results from the resumed talks in London are being eagerly awaited.

Japan's relations with the Republic of Korea reached a new low with the Korean declaration of November 17, 1955, to fire on and to sink Japanese fishing vessels venturing inside the so-called Rhee Line. Tough counter-measures were recommended by Japanese circles. American mediation was called for by others. The Government, however, did not reopen the stalemate in the negotiations with South Korea. Moreover, the latter accused Japan openly of being pro-Communist as pressure for increased trade connections with mainland China and North Korea mounted in Japan. Considerable numbers of Japanese representatives were invited by both Peking and Pyongyang to visit China and North Korea. They returned to Japan full of praise for their hosts and for their sincere desire to arrive at normal political and economic relations with Japan. Even right-wing leaders joined the chorus. Though the Government of Japan lifted traffic restrictions with the Communist neighbours, it did little to stimulate actual trade. Much time and publicity were given to long range programmes to boost Japan's trade with South-East Asian countries. However, the pre-conditions for such improvement, that is, settlement of reparations claimed by the Philippines and Indonesia, were not yet met. After the settlement with Burma, in 1954, Japan concentrated on the Philippines, but little headway has been made during the past year.

The three weeks' visit of Mr. Shigemitsu, Japan's Foreign Minister, to the United States last August touched off acrid comments in the Diet and in the press. Admittedly undertaken with a view to bolstering Japan's public relations in the US which had reached a regrettably low state, the visit did not yield any practical results. The Socialists still claim that the Foreign Minister did more harm than good to Japan by visiting Washington, especially since, earlier in 1955, his proposed visit there had to be postponed as unwelcome to the State Department. The emigration policy of the Government, likewise heralded with much publicity, did not live up to expectations—the question is whether emigration will solve Japan's population problem. During the period from April to December, 1955, only 2,177 Japanese nationals emigrated, and that from a country of 142,000 square miles with a population which is expected to exceed the 100 million mark within a few years. All this culminated in a Socialist sponsored non-confidence motion against the Foreign Minister during the middle of December last which was defeated, however, by the combined strength of the newly merged Liberal-Democratic Party.

Against this rather sombre background there has also been bright news. There was a satisfactory consolidation on the economic front. Particularly, the foreign trade of Japan developed impressively. Japan was admitted formally into the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). She now

participates in the Colombo Plan as a donor nation and has become predominantly active in the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE). The visit to Japan of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Prime Minister of Cambodia, resulted in the signing of a Japan-Cambodia treaty of amity, and the invitation to Arab Leaders, after the Bandung Conference, gave a new impetus to the steadily increasing trade between Japan and the Arab countries.

Internally, there is now a greater degree of stability resulting from the mergers of both the conservative and the socialist parties. Although how much the death of Mr. Ogata, Chairman of the Liberal party before the merger, will affect the political scene is not clear as this is written. Certainly the field now seems open for Mr. Hatoyama to become president of the Liberal Democratic Party, and to continue his tenure as Prime Minister. Anyhow, for the first time in her parliamentary history, Japan has arrived at a two-party system, and it should now be possible to deal with some yet unsettled issues, such as the "Two Chinas," Korea and the relations with the United States without the constant pressure of domestic politics. The improvement in the economic situation is a contributive factor; the fact that at the beginning of 1956 the people of Japan were less hungry than they were a year ago, will do much to attain political equilibrium.

AUSTRALIA

Problems of Population

From Charles Meeking

(EASTERN WORLD Correspondent in Canberra)

RECENTLY, Australians were sharply reminded of some of their own population problems, and of the vastly different problems of Japan. It was a curious coincidence that the special envoy of the Japanese Prime Minister should have been in Canberra (after visiting about a dozen South-East Asian nations) during the week in which the annual Citizenship Convention was discussing the strains and stresses of the Australian immigration programme. It was perhaps less of a coincidence that the Australian Workers' Union, largest trade union in Australia, should have chosen this moment to reaffirm in somewhat belligerent terms, its unwavering support of the "white Australia policy."

The Japanese envoy, Mr. Takeo Miki, a former Japanese Cabinet Minister, was outspokenly pleased and relieved by his friendly reception. He assured a press conference in Canberra that the new Japan was a "reborn" country, and that he was impressed with Australia's "keen interest in promoting friendship with Japan in spite of bitter wartime experiences."

He was questioned on GATT, on continental shelf fisheries, on the Olympic Games. He was even asked if Japanese wanted to emigrate to Australia and New Guinea, and hastened to assure his questioner that the Japanese had no wish to go anywhere they were not wanted. He was asked about Japan's population difficulties, and on this he became eloquent. Not long ago, he said, he had been acting Minister for Welfare and Social Services, and in that capacity he had presided at an international conference on family planning. The present Japanese Government was doing its utmost to solve the problem of the concentration of the Japanese population into four islands. One way was by birth control. Life in Japan was getting more difficult, so people could not afford big families. They had to plan

families according to their means, and "whether they like it or not, they must be birth control-minded." He admitted that this might be a negative way of tackling the problem. A positive way, he said, was by more and more industrialisation of Japan, and consequent expansion of trade with other countries. Emigration was not a solution, because not many countries were open, and in any case the Japanese were an insular people, and fond of their homes.

Only a mile or so away, the Citizenship Convention was carrying resolutions urging retention of the full immigration programme for Australia. It was admitted that the absorption of 120,000 migrants a year imposed strains on an economy weakened at present by a highly adverse overseas trade balance, and meant more pressures on housing and other needs. But, it was being urged, Australia's need for security should be considered paramount. There were references to the hundreds of millions of Asians close to Australia's northern shores. The president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, Mr. A. Monk, said he did not wish to appear as the advocate of larger armed forces or of bringing migrants to Australia for purely military purposes. He made no reference to the "White Australia policy," and the question did not arise at the convention, although some influential Australian newspapers have recently been urging the admission of token quotas of Asians. They have been supported by some churchmen and university dons. However, the Australian Workers' Union, holding its annual conference in Brisbane, was not so reticent.

Speakers at that conference were critical of the Labour party for having shelved discussion of the subject last year. A motion was carried unanimously, registering the union's opposition to "attempts being made by a strange combination of certain wealthy employing interests and the Communist Party to secure the free entry of coloured and Asiatic labour into Australia." The general secretary, Mr. T. Dougherty, said the "White Australia policy must be proudly held forward as our national right, and one we will never give up in any circumstances. There is no need for apology for this policy. Any Australian Government which attempts to break it down or alter it will be dismissed the moment it goes to the polls." No politicians of any party showed the slightest disposition to argue on this point with Mr. Dougherty, but his general remarks were criticised in several other quarters. A typical comment was offered by Lord Lindsay of Birker, who is a member of the staff of the Australian National University in Canberra. Lord Lindsay said that Mr. Dougherty had attacked an extreme alternative which few critics of the policy would support. But "could he state any reasoned argument against the sort of modification needed to remove a continued source of bad feeling between Australia and her northern neighbours, which need only imply admission for a very small number of non-Europeans who would become assimilated to the Australian society and make a useful contribution to Australian life?" It was Mr. Dougherty's turn to remain silent.

While all this was going on, the Minister for External Affairs, Mr. R. G. Casey, was mildly suggesting the formation of Australian-Asian associations in the Australian State capitals, "to build up goodwill towards Asians." He said, quite truthfully, that there was great goodwill towards Asia in Australia, as evidenced in the cordial reception of Asian students and businessmen. He would like to see "non-governmental, non-political associations," not confined to social activities, and encouraging a study of Asian cultures and interchanges of visits. This sounded well, but one querulous critic asserted that Australians would go into those associations politically committed whether they liked it or not, and mostly without their knowing it. Undoubtedly,

he said, the Asians would know it, but might be too polite to say so.

Australian population problems, therefore, are closely associated with different but related problems in Asia, with official policies and official attitudes, and with future trends and outlooks in this part of the world.

BURMA

Soviet Assistance

From Alex Josey

(EASTERN WORLD S.E. Asian Correspondent)

THIS city nowadays always seems to be full of trade delegations and company representatives from Eastern Europe. They are part of the Soviet directed economic assistance offensive which the Communists have launched against the under-developed nations in South-East Asia.

If the Communist countries keep their promises there will soon be no place for Britain and the West in Burma's economy. Hitherto worried about (a) an annual rice surplus, (b) lack of foreign currency, and (c) the urgent need to industrialise to a reasonable extent, Burma now wonders if she will have enough rice to barter for all the capital goods which the Communist countries have offered to supply. A Burmese leader said to me with a smile: "If the Communists keep their word we might be forced to buy rice from Thailand in order to keep our end of the bargain." Thailand, it is worthwhile remembering, also has a rice surplus problem which gifts and military assistance from the United States cannot solve.

Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev signed a trade agreement with the Burmese before they left at the end of their most successful visit. In exchange for rice the Soviet Government agreed to help the Burmese Government in the agricultural and industrial development of the country. In addition the Soviet Union gave Burma a gift of a technical institute which they will construct and equip.

A great deal will depend upon the new Russia-Burma relationship. If it is successful, that is if Burma does receive worthwhile material aid from the Soviet Union and can at the same time solve her surplus rice problem, then Indonesia and opportunistic Thailand, as well as near-independent Malaya, will also be interested. This would do much to bring South-East Asia into the Russian economic orbit. Burma will go reluctantly, but the West has hitherto held back aid on the large scale mainly because of American hesitancy in helping Socialism in Asia. Had adequate assistance been extended to the Socialist Government in Burma, and had the United States acted firmly against the professional anti-Communists in Washington who wanted to establish an illegal Chinese Nationalist army in Burma, then there would have been no need for the Burmese to turn so eagerly to the Russians for help.

Burma has been promised help from the Soviet Government in the preparation of a programme of agricultural development, in undertaking major irrigation works, and in the establishment of some industrial plants. Payment for this will be in rice, and some additional deferred payments in kind, spread over a number of years.

Burma badly needs engineers. By offering to build a

technical college in Rangoon and to train Burmese there, actually in their own country in their own language (English will probably be the language of instruction, or perhaps English-speaking Russians will pass on instructions through English-speaking Burmese), the Russians have made a popular move. They also could not have overlooked the advantage of getting young engineers accustomed right away to working on Russian-type instruments and equipment. This peaceful penetration by the Communists can be much more effective than aggressive action (Malaya and Burma are still fighting Communist guerillas), always providing that the Soviet Union and the countries within the Russian Empire can produce the goods and honour their blank cheques. For some time China will be unable to assist much, concentrating as she is upon industrialising her enormous self; but there is no reason whatsoever why the Soviet Union, because of totalitarian planning, cannot give the uncommitted countries in Asia considerable assistance. The West would be unwise to hope that Russia is just talking big.

INDONESIA

Critical Time

From our Special Correspondent in Jakarta

TEN years ago Indonesia became politically independent, but the Dutch colonialists have still to be defeated economically, and their hold upon the country in this sphere is as strong as ever, if not stronger than it was when Indonesia's freedom was declared in 1946. Recently, I attended a mass meeting in Freedom Square here, where Aider the Communist, Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo the Nationalist Party leader (former Prime Minister), and Arudji Kartawinata, chairman of the Muslim League, all spoke from the same platform to a crowd estimated at three-quarters of a million. Each speaker solemnly denounced Dutch domination of Indonesian economy. Declared Arudji: "Only by unity among all sections of the Indonesian people, including the Marxists, Nationalists and Muslims, can we wipe out the remnant influence and destroy colonial rule." Aider gave facts and figures. Foreign capital in Indonesia amounted to at least 63 thousand million rupiahs (roughly £2,000 million), of which 40,000 million rupiahs were Dutch. According to rough estimates the annual interest on foreign capital in Indonesia amounted to one fourth of its total value, approximately 15,000 million rupiahs (about £500 million). The Communist leader demanded that Indonesia must solve this problem of capital. The policy of the Communist Party is to confiscate and nationalise all the Dutch capital in Indonesia, then to draw loans and aid "from all sides without discrimination." Clearly this would mean drawing aid from Moscow and Peking, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and the other Communist countries which have already moved into Burma's economy.

Holland's attitude seems to be: "We will hang on to what we've got as long as we can." This is an attitude which helped to defeat the moderate Socialists led by Sutan Sjahrir, Indonesia's first Prime Minister. Sjahrir wants to get rid of the Dutch, but gradually. Both the Nationalists and the Communists want them out without delay. If chaos results this would be welcomed by the Communists, for then totalitarianism would be needed to clear up the mess. So tired are the Nationalists with Dutch control of their economy that they would be prepared to risk this. Njoto, a Communist MP, and an important member of the

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Party, admitted to me that the Communists collected six million of the 32 million votes in the general elections in December, mainly because the Communists reflected the wishes of the masses: the masses want complete independence. Political observers here tell me that most of the six million people who voted for the Communists voted against the Dutch as much as they voted for Communism which they cannot understand.

In this my informants were only partly right. For Communism in Indonesia has come to mean certain things. In Burma and in Malaya the poor people know Communism as terror. Neither the Burmese Communist Party nor the Malayan Communist Party have ever given the masses any benefit. Instead they have given torture and slow death. In Indonesia the Communists have organised the trade union movement, and through this organisation, which is powerful, they have given the workers benefits. In addition, the Communists of Indonesia, have kept away from Communist ideology as much as possible and concentrated upon national problems. Njoto said to me during an interview: "We are a nationalists' Communist party and emphatically do not get instructions from abroad." This might well be true. Aidet is off to Moscow; Njoto has also been to Moscow. This could mean anything. Certainly the emphasis of the Communists' literature is upon freeing the country from colonialism and developing the country to increase the standard of living of the masses.

The Communists are a force in Indonesia which cannot be ignored. President Sukarno told the crowd which surged to his palace after the big meeting: "The 20 per cent. of the Indonesian people supporting the Communist Party can not be excluded from the family of national unity." In his opinion, Dr. Ali, Aidet and Arudji were a symbol of co-operation between the three principal political groups—the Marxists, the Nationalists and the Muslims; they were a symbol of anti-colonialism and defence of the principles of democracy. Sukarno in saying this may well have been giving a warning to Indonesian politicians now hopeful of attracting western aid. No matter what form the newly elected—the first elected—Government may take, the Communists cannot be ignored, not because of their ideology but because of their fiercely uncompromising nationalist attitude towards the Dutch. If the Nationalists and the Muslim Priest Association, and the Masjumi Party, form a coalition government of the moderate right, with the Communists in Opposition, the West would be making a grave error in extending help to Indonesia if this meant consolidating the Dutch in their already firm position as overlords of Indonesia's economy.

I have come to the conclusion, after talking to politicians and journalists of many shades of political thought, that if Indonesia is to be kept away from the Moscow-Peking economic orbit, western aid must be directed towards helping Indonesians to form state enterprises to take over Dutch holdings. This might mean helping to build Indonesia into a Socialist State, a repugnant thought perhaps to the Americans, but something far less dangerous than a Communist State. For what happens in Indonesia will influence Malaya, and to some extent India. Some careful thinking is now required.

PAKISTAN

Constitution and Controversy

From our Correspondent in Karachi

THE great question, as this dispatch is written, is whether the Pakistan Constituent Assembly will succeed in passing the Constitution Bill before the beginning of March. The Prime Minister, as well as some of his Cabinet colleagues, has repeatedly declared his anxiety, indeed, his intention, of securing passage of the Constitution within this time and there are, of course, cogent reasons why the country should have its Constitution as soon as possible. After eight years, the urgency grows daily, but there are, in addition, two further considerations which press heavily. In March, the national Budget has to be considered and passed, and if not completed before this, the Constitution will have to await the Budget session. Secondly, in the first half of March, a top-level SEATO meeting is to be held in this city. There are indications of Pakistan's desire to speak rather plainly on certain matters and if, by that time, the Constitution has been approved, the efforts of the Pakistan delegation are likely to be more impressive than if internal wrangles on constitutional matters still persist. This is especially true when it is remembered that other SEATO delegates will naturally be interested to know the precise strength which the Central Government will be able to exercise over the two units of which Pakistan consists.

At the beginning of February, the hope of success in getting the Constitution through in time seemed forlorn and the determination of the Opposition, consisting mainly of Mr. Suhrawardy's Awami League, to protract debate as much as possible was not met with any effective action by the Government. The device of suspending, for the time, consideration of controversial topics, enabled more progress to be made so that as the month advanced all non-controversial clauses of the Bill were agreed to by the House. It must be understood that the controversy is not merely one between the Coalition Government and the Opposition. The controversy involves the Coalition itself,

that is to say, the disputed clauses are the subject of difference of opinion within the Government Coalition and the risk is that the United Front component may break away or, to some extent, crumble. Already, one member of the United Front is said to have declined to support his party with respect to its attitude to the Constitution Bill and there have been reports of Hindu ministers, both at the Centre and in East Pakistan, submitting their resignations. There is no doubt that the Prime Minister is exerting himself to maintain complete unity and to avoid any defection.

It may well be that Mr. Mohamed Ali will succeed in his efforts, if not to secure *the* Constitution, then *a* Constitution. There is a body of opinion that takes the view that any Constitution would be better than indefinite continuance of Government under the present garbled version of the Government of India Act, 1935, and these people hold that some sort of Constitution, whatever it is, will make it possible to hold general elections so that the real will of the people can be ascertained and leaders with genuine, popular support, can emerge. Not without interest, in this connection, is the recent election of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar as President of the Pakistan Muslim League. The Sardar is one of the "old Guard," a close collaborator of Mr. Jinnah and a member of the Muslim League team of negotiators who, with Lord Mountbatten and the Indian Congress leaders, settled the terms of the partition. This election has given rise to some enthusiastic memories and expressions of the hope that the League will be "re-vitalised" to use a word which is popular. Whether the Sardar's health will enable him to act as vigorously as will be necessary to achieve re-vitalisation is, perhaps, a question. He has issued an appeal to old colleagues, who had left the League, to return to the fold and Mr. Fazlur Rahman has accepted the invitation. Mr. Rahman was for several years a Central Government Minister, losing his seat in the Cabinet when Mr. Ghulam Mohamed dismissed Khwaja Nazimuddin. Thereafter, Mr. Rahman went into opposition, but is again in the Government ranks. Malik Firoz Khan Noon is also being asked to return in response to the Sardar's appeal, but this may not be agreeable to Mian Mumtaz Daultana, the Malik's rival in what used to be the Punjab and as Daultana's star is in the ascendant these days, Firoz Khan Noon may not receive the same welcome as that extended to Mr. Rahman whose importance is that he will provide the Muslim League with badly needed representation, in the Constituent Assembly, from East Pakistan.

Soviet-Pakistan Relations

THE Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. N. A. Bulganin, last month answered the following questions put to him by the Editor of the *United Press of Pakistan*, Mr. Qutubuddin Aziz of Karachi.

Q. *Speaking at the session of the Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Premier expressed the hope that relations between the USSR and Pakistan would be improved. What, in his judgment, are the ways and means for improving these relations?*

A. In its relations with other nations the Soviet Union has always proceeded, and continues to proceed from the possibility and necessity of peaceful co-existence and mutually beneficial friendly co-operation of nations with different social systems.

Soviet foreign policy rests on the recognition of the right of all peoples to independent national development and statehood. We are against any form of interference in the internal affairs of other states.

This applies also to Pakistan, whose people have the right, just as all other peoples, to settle their domestic affairs as they see fit.

Consistent in its policy of peace, the Soviet Union cannot, naturally, remain indifferent to the fact that some of the neighbouring states, in order to please foreign interests, are entering aggressive military and political groupings endangering the security of the Soviet Union. We are opposed to military and political aggressive groupings, such as SEATO and the Baghdad Pact, to which Pakistan is a party.

Friendly relations between the USSR and Pakistan could be built on the five principles of peaceful co-existence which the USSR, India, the Chinese People's Republic, Burma and other countries have already taken as a guide in their mutual relations.

Acceptance of these principles as a guide in relations between the USSR and Pakistan would certainly be a sure means for improving and developing Soviet-Pakistan relations and would be completely in accord with the interests and aspirations of our countries. We proceed from the premise that the people of Pakistan, like the other peace-loving peoples, are vitally interested in strengthening peace, consolidating independence and improving the well-being of their country.

Q. *In what fields could the Soviet Union co-operate with Pakistan?*

A. The Soviet Union is in favour of establishing and developing the most extensive contacts with all nations. It goes without saying that the Soviet Union and Pakistan could successfully co-operate in the economic, technical, cultural and other fields.

Q. *What are the opportunities for economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and Pakistan? Is the Soviet Union prepared to offer Pakistan economic and technical assistance without making this assistance dependent upon any conditions?*

A. There are, in our view, sufficient opportunities for mutually advantageous economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and Pakistan, provided, of course, there is the desire on both sides.

The Soviet Union has rendered, and is continuing to render technical assistance to many nations, both through the United Nations and on the basis of bilateral agreements. It is common knowledge that in rendering this assistance the USSR, unlike the western powers, has never made it conditional on any political, military or other demands affecting the sovereignty of this or that country.

This fully applies to Pakistan as well.

Q. *What are the chances of expanding trade between the Soviet Union and Pakistan? What goods would the USSR like to buy in Pakistan, what goods could it sell to Pakistan, and what would be the forms of payment?*

A. There are feasible opportunities for expanding trading relations between the USSR and Pakistan.

In Pakistan the Soviet Union could buy agricultural and livestock produce, and also other goods which Pakistan needs to export. In its turn, the Soviet Union is willing to sell to Pakistan industrial plant, agricultural and other machinery, and various manufactured and other goods which Pakistan may wish to buy.

In this connection, the conclusion of a trade agreement between the Soviet Union and Pakistan could be of positive value.

Q. *Could the Soviet Union share with Pakistan its technical knowledge in the peaceful uses of atomic energy?*

A. Yes, it could.

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CHINA'S SMALLEST NATIONAL GROUP

Bp Chi Yen-lang (Peking)

CHINA'S smallest national minority, the Olunchun people, recently began to move from their animal-skin tents in the Great Khingan Mountains to brand-new houses on the plains below. Over sixty houses sheltering them from the wind and snow were built for them by the local government, marking their entry into a new historical era.

The Olunchun people, now totalling just over 2,000, are a branch of the same race as the Manchus who ruled China for nearly 300 years in the Ching Dynasty. For ages the Olunchuns were confined to the forests of northernmost China and lived a primitive hunter's life.

January and February, when the temperature in the snow-bound Great Khingan Mountains drops to 50 degrees centigrade below zero, are the best hunting season. At this time of the year the Olunchun hunters can easily track down game by its footprints on the snow. Lynx, mink, deer, otters, roe-deer, common eurasian squirrels and bears are some of the animals they hunt. Their happiest moment comes in the evening when on their return from the day's hunt they sit around the fire, singing or dancing their favourite "deer dance."

These freedom-loving people who led a life in the forests somewhat like that of primitive communism, however, were called "barbarians" and savagely oppressed. During the Japanese occupation of North-East China the Japanese encouraged opium-smoking among the Olunchuns, and their police ran them down like animals. The Japanese army tried to wipe them out. In one tribe in the Normin' area 70 of the 120 tribesmen were killed, and a great decline in the population of the Olunchun people took place.

Another human enemy of the Olunchuns were the unscrupulous merchants and usurers who used to fleece them and who browbeat the hunters into accepting the most miserable prices for valuable furs and skins. The fur of a common eurasian squirrel, for example, was exchanged for only one catty of grain instead of its real value of 20 catties. Pressed by usurers, Olunchun hunters sometimes had to part with their almost indispensable hunting horses, and even their wives were often taken as hostages for debt.

Racial discrimination, amounting almost to racial extermination, ended with the liberation of this part of the country by the People's Liberation Army in 1945. Since then the decline of this proud and free people, whose population was twice the present figure 40 years ago, has been effectively checked and an upward trend has been noted.

An Olunchun Autonomous Banner (or county) was established in the north-eastern part of Inner Mongolia in 1951 giving them their own government. Three co-operative stores have been set up in the banner, selling food, fodder, firearms, ammunition, and cloth and buying the hunters' furs, skins and other products at reasonable prices. These co-operatives regularly send food supplies right to the hunting grounds in the forests, saving the hunters the trouble of travelling hundreds of kilometres.

Opium-smoking has been stopped. A clinic has been set up, and doctors and nurses constantly go the rounds in the forests of the Great Kingan Mountains and are stamping out malaria, typhoid and small-pox which used to be rampant.



(Top) Olunchuns are being welcomed to the new houses built for them by the local People's Government. (Lower picture) Olunchun hunters with black bears' paws, a Chinese delicacy

Ninety-nine per cent. of the Olunchun people were illiterate when liberation came to them. Now over 130 children, provided with government stipends, are studying in the primary school which was set up by the local People's Government. As they complete their courses here, they go on to middle schools in other parts of the country. And five young Olunchun men and women are now studying in the Central Institute for National Minorities in Peking.

They saw their first motion picture in 1954 when a film projection team visited the place. Since then film showings have become a part of their growing cultural life.

A striking feature in the rapid development of the Olunchuns since liberation is the fact that a number of the hunters have settled down, given up hunting and taken to agriculture. Others, while continuing their hunting, augment their income in the quiet season with vegetable gardening and other occupations.

FROM ALL QUARTERS

A Tribute to Mr. Nehru

Mme. Mendes-France and Dr. Luther Evans, Director General of Unesco, were the guests of honour at a Republic Day luncheon at Unesco House which was attended by Indian students, officials of the Indian Embassy and senior members of Unesco staff.

Mme. Mendes-France proposed the toast to the President and the peoples of the Republic of India, and Dr. Luther Evans to the Prime Minister. In the course of his speech, Dr. Evans paid tribute to Mr. Nehru in glowing terms. He said:

"I think the whole world knows how Mr. Nehru, as Prime Minister of one of the greatest and most powerful countries of our time, has combined in an unusual way a number of most remarkable human talents: he is a man of intellect and culture who makes the average run of statesmen look puny and uncultured; he is a national politician with talents of leadership which have made it possible for him to give both good form and admirable substance to the nationhood of a numerous people as it made the transition from dependency to strong and secure independence; and he is a world figure who has brought the great currents of Indian thought from the deep sources of ancient culture to bear upon hotly and angrily contested, seemingly irreconcilable differences, in a way to temper them by bringing into men's minds and hearts an attitude of broader and mellower humanity. In eminently practical ways he has brought India's great weight into the solution of particular international conflicts. The world owes him much, and the next generation may well understand this even more than the present generation."

Mr. P. W. Kirpal, Acting Director of the Department of Cultural Activities, thanked the guests on behalf of Indian members of Unesco staff.

Chinese Students Visit Australia

The first university students from the People's Republic of China to visit Australia arrived in Sydney recently. They came at the invitation of the National Union of Australian University Students. The three students are from Peking University. They are Mr. Shen Tee Woh, the Deputy General Secretary of the All-China Students' Federation, Mr. Shon Shen Chong, the Chairman of the Students' Union of Peking University, and Miss Lo Yan Whee, who will act as interpreter for the party.

The Vice-President of the Australian Students' Union, Mr. C. Kitson, said invitations to attend the Adelaide Council meeting had been sent to all recognised student unions throughout the world. He added that the Australian Students' Union was non-political in its outlook. The visit by the Chinese students was on the same lines as a recent exchange of undergraduates between Britain and Russia.

United States and Japan Agree on Defence Financing

The United States and Japan last month concluded an agreement providing for a progressive annual reduction in the cash defence contribution of Japan for US forces stationed in Japan.

A communique noted the mutual desire of both governments for Japan to increasingly assume the responsibility for its own defence as envisaged in the security treaty between the two countries. The communique was issued jointly in Tokyo by Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu and US Ambassador John M. Allison. Their agreement came after long discussions initially begun in Washington last August between the Foreign Minister and the US Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles.

Under the agreement, beginning with the 1957 Fiscal Year starting on July 1, Japan's cash contribution will be reduced in proportion to its increased defence effort. The US agrees in the future to share equally the cost of any increase in the total

appropriations for the Defence Agency and expenses for US facilities until the contribution for US forces is finally eliminated.

In 1956, the cash contribution for US forces will be reduced to 30,000 million yen (\$78 million) as a result of projected Japanese appropriations. These will amount to slightly more than 100,000 million yen (\$260 million) for the Defence Agency and about 10,500 million yen (\$27,300,000) for expenses for US facilities.

Indonesia to have big Olympic Team

Reports from Jakarta say Indonesia will be represented at the Olympic Games in Melbourne later this year by one of the largest teams to compete in the international contest. The Indonesian team will go to Melbourne as much for experience and training as in the hope of winning Olympic medals.

Officials say Indonesian athletes intend to take advantage of the closeness to Australia. For relatively little cost, they gain the benefit of Olympic competition. Indonesia has already decided to send football and water polo teams, track and field competitors, and some swimmers. In addition, it also intends to compete in basket ball, boxing, weight-lifting and rifle-shooting.

No Entry for Pests

Tighter controls over the import of plants into South-East Asia and the Pacific, a region still happily free from some of the world's most dangerous plant diseases and insect pests, are proposed in a new agreement drawn up with the aid of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation.

The agreement, open for signature by Governments until next June, is designed to reinforce the International Plant Protection Convention. It includes specific measures to keep Asia free of a leaf blight disease which ravages rubber plantations in South America.

1,000th Colombo Plan Trainee

The 1,000th trainee to come to this country under the Colombo Plan arrived in London last month and was given an official welcome by Mr. Iain Macleod, Minister of Labour and National Service.

He is Mr. Bisheshwar Prasad Singh, 30-year-old blast furnace foreman in the Tata Iron and Steel Company's Works at Jamshedpur, India.

Mr. Singh will be here for about six months to study the developments in the production of pig-iron in blast furnaces and blast furnace operation, practice and management. He will spend most of his time at the steel works of Messrs. Colville's Ltd., on the Clyde, but will also spend a short time visiting other steel plants before he returns to India to resume charge of the blast furnaces at Jamshedpur.

Mr. Singh has spent all his working life with Tata's and was trained in metallurgy in the Tata Technical Institute. His training in this country has been arranged at the request of the Government of India by the British Iron and Steel Federation.

Mr. Singh is one of nearly 300 trainees to come from India during the last two years under the Technical Cooperation Scheme of the Colombo Plan. The other 700 have come from Pakistan, Ceylon, Nepal, Indonesia, Burma, the Philippines, Thailand, Laos and Vietnam.

Training given in the United Kingdom covers a wide field. A few examples are coal-mining, crop protection, power station

maintenance, naval architecture, public and industrial administration, medicine and health, railway operation and automobile engineering. Facilities for training are provided by Government Departments like the Ministry of Labour and National Service and the Directorate of Scientific and Industrial Research, by nationalised industry, including the National Coal Board, British Railways and the Electricity Authority, and by private industrial concerns, as in the case of Mr. Singh. Arrangements are made either by Government Departments or through the British Council, the latter having responsibility for accommodation and welfare while the trainees are here.

India is not only a beneficiary under the Technical Co-operation Scheme; she is herself a contributor of expert advice and training facilities. She has taken more than 350 trainees from Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Malaya, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand and has provided the services of some twenty experts.

East German's Return Chinese Treasures

Chinese historic treasures have been returned to the Chinese People's Republic by Otto Grotewohl, Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic, during his visit to Peking recently.

Mr. Grotewohl handed over to Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-Lai ten banners of the Chinese revolutionary movement "I Ho Tuan" (known in Europe as the "Boxers"), which had been seized by German Imperial troops which helped suppress the Chinese rising in 1901.

Mr. Grotewohl also returned three rare manuscript volumes of the famous Chinese encyclopedia *Yung Lo Ta Tien* of 1407.

Australian Gift for Indian Orphan

The Victorian Branch of the Save the Children Fund in Melbourne has sent a cheque for Rs. 528 (equivalent to £A50) to the Government of India. This amount will be given to a child orphaned as a result of Portuguese firing in Goa during the satyagraha movement. This is the first instalment, and like amounts will be paid for the next four years to the child on the Prime Minister's birthday.

The Victorian Branch of the Save the Children Fund in Melbourne has made two other donations for child welfare in India. One is for £A1,400 to the Seva Samaj boys home in Madras and the contribution for construction and maintenance of "park shelters" for children of working mothers in Calcutta.



The Town Hall, Bangalore, where the annual session of ECAFE has been held. A report of the meetings will be published in the next issue of "Eastern World".

Indian Airline Workers' Own Village

Work has begun in India on the construction of a staff colony for employees of Air-India International and Indian Airlines Corporation. The colony will be completed at the end of 1956, and will comprise living quarters for 600 families. It is being built near the Air-India International engineering base at Santa Cruz airport.

The colony will cover a 20-acre site which, besides the 26 buildings containing the "living units," will have its own school, children's park and playground, bank, shops and post office.

The project is to cost an estimated Rs. 65.50 lakhs. Construction was started after a ceremony during which Shri B. S. Patel, General Manager of Air-India International, outlined details of the new housing plan in a short speech.



Four members of the established mission by the UN Trusteeship Council who left last month on a tour of the trust territories administered by the USA, Australia and New Zealand. (left to right) Sir John MacPherson (UK) Chairman of the mission; Mr. J. Rolz Bennett (Guatemala); Mr. Daniel Massonet (Belgium) and Mr. E. Chacko (India)

New Kowloon General Hospital, Hong Kong

Plans for a new hospital, with 1,275 beds and quarters for staff, to be built in Kowloon, Hong Kong, and estimated to cost approximately £3,125,000, have been approved by the Hong Kong Government. Provision is made for a special children's section containing 200 beds. The new hospital, when completed in 1960, will be the biggest of its kind in the Commonwealth.

The thirteen-storey building, occupying the site of the Navy Recreation Ground and Salvation Army Camp at King's Park, will have a complete range of the most modern facilities available to doctors. There will be deep X-ray plants, isotope laboratories and treatment rooms, occupational and physio-therapy rooms.

The hospital has been designed by the British firm of chartered architects, Messrs. Easton & Robertson, of London. Construction work will begin on the sisters' and nurses' quarters in 18 months' time, i.e., the middle of 1957.

The whole project, including quarters for medical and nursing staff, will take three years to complete from the time construction commences. Actual construction work will cost £2,500,000, and will be let out on contract to local firms.

Japan Preparing for Study of Antarctic

Japanese officials and scientists are making preparations to carry out their part in the multi-nation survey of the Antarctic region, which will be an important feature of the International Geophysical Year, extending from July, 1957 to December, 1958.

Headquarters were set up, detailed plans were drawn up and duties assigned soon after the Japanese Government's acceptance of the request for Japan to participate in the programme prepared by the Special Committee for International Geophysical Year (CSAGI). Japan was asked to make observations on the Antarctic coast of Prince Harald, when the CSAGI met in its third session at Brussels last year from September 8th to 14th.

The Science Council of Japan has formed a committee to specialise in the study of Antarctic matters, and it recommended Professor Takeshi Nagata of Tokyo University as a candidate to head the expedition. Professor Nagata, a noted geophysicist, has represented Japan in all sessions of the Special Committee for International Geophysical Year Programmes. He is responsible for the important zone 140 degrees, east longitude, in which Japan is included.

Other preparations for the expedition include the conversion of the "Soya," a 2,208-ton vessel, into a modern scientific research ship which will be capable of ice-breaking duties.

LONDON NOTEBOOK

Changes in India and Burma

Sir Percival Griffiths has visited India and Pakistan several times in recent years and he keeps in close touch with the political and economic developments in these countries. His most recent tour of the East also included Burma, which he had last visited six years ago. The impressions he has brought back from these countries this time and which he reported to members of the East India Association the other day, are altogether more favourable than on the previous occasions. He gave a picture of tremendous activity, progress and stability in these countries. In India, production had expanded considerably and he found signs of prosperity. But even more important was the "new awakening" that he saw among the people, especially in the villages. Indians today felt that it was possible to improve their lot by their own efforts and they cooperated wholeheartedly with the Government in the new development schemes. This attitude, he said, did not exist during the time of British rule when the district officers had to make the villagers take interest in the projects of the Government. It was an extremely encouraging change, he added.

Another trend that Sir Percival noticed was the growth of left-wing thought in the Congress Party. Bank-benchers with Socialist leanings are now exerting more and more influence on Party policies than they did before. He also briefly referred to the scheme of linguistic reorganisation of Indian States and remarked that there were no grounds for fearing that it would result in the disintegration of the country. India was too "sound and solid" for that, he said. But he thought that the Indian Government's plan to rule Bombay from New Delhi was a foolish move.

Sir Percival found the political situation in Burma greatly improved since his last visit. There was no more any threat of subversion from rebel parties and although incidents of dacoity took place in certain parts, the position was on the whole "orderly." Burma did not stand in danger from a foreign power, either. Although Russian policy aimed at drawing the country emotionally closer, they would not be able to encourage any subversive activity. The strongest force in Burma today was "economic nationalism" and this feeling would be a resistance to any interference from outside powers. Sir Percival was of the opinion that the Bulganin-Khrushchev visit was not a success in Burma or in India. Although they were received enthusiastically, the people were not "taken in" by their propaganda. At the same time Sir Percival doubted the wisdom of Burma's rice deal with Communist countries, which he felt had potential dangers. Machinery from iron curtain countries would be followed by technicians and gradually Burma could be "drawn into the net of Russia". Burma's new ties with Communist countries, he said, was a problem that the British Government should pay serious attention to.

Burma's biggest headache, the speaker said, was foreign exchange. The problem was largely a result of the country's "over-ambitious development schemes," in which he saw a parallel with the policies of Pakistan till a year ago. He was of the opinion that both countries had basically a sound economy but the governments should exercise restraint in their spending.

Mughul Influence on Rembrandt

Three months ago, the British Museum showed an exhibition of Japanese paintings

The sea area around the Antarctic continent is jammed with ice bergs and floes throughout the four seasons. The coast of Prince Harald, for instance, is packed with ice floes more than 60 miles offshore even during the summer months (December to March). Seven exploration ships have tried in the past to reach the shores of the continent but on each occasion they were forced to turn back after reaching a point 60 miles from the shore because of insufficient ice-breaking equipment. Moreover, in order to reach the Antarctic continent, ships must pass through a storm area ranging from Lat. 50 degrees to 60 degrees. The area is often buffeted by winds up to 50 metres an hour and the atmospheric temperature drops below freezing point even in summer.

In order that the research ship can unload personnel and research instruments totalled 400 tons (heaviest cargo weight three tons) on the coast of Prince Harald, it will be necessary for the ship to penetrate the 60-mile ice barrier which has been hitherto impassable. The conclusion reached by the American research ship "Atka," which explored this area previously, is that an ice-breaking capacity of three metres is necessary in order to succeed. However, under Japan's existing financial situation, the "Soya" can be equipped with only a one metre ice-breaker. A speed of 12 knots per hour is required for a ship to safely to sail through an Antarctic storm area.

and drawings which showed European influence. Their present exhibition of Rembrandt's drawings contain a few that show the interest this European master took in Mughul art. Twenty-three copies by Rembrandt after Mughul miniatures are known. Of these six are in the British Museum and have been included in the current show. Direct prototypes for two of these drawings have been traced to an album of miniatures used for the decoration of an 18th century room in Schloss Schonbrunn, Vienna. Rembrandt is supposed to have had in his possession a copy of this album.

Indian Tourist Office

The establishment of a tourist office in London by the Indian Government would have come as a surprise to many—surprise in knowing that they did not have one for so long. It seems that India has not been exploiting fully the tremendous interest the outside world has taken in recent years in the ancient culture as well as the modern developments of that country. Tourism as a commercial proposition is apparently a very new idea for India and its potentialities as an earner of goodwill and foreign exchange have only lately been realised by the Government. New York and San Francisco have had tourist offices for about two years. We understand from Mr. Khushal Singh, the Director of the London office that similar centres are going to be opened soon in Paris and in other major cities of the world.

Even the little work done so far to attract visitors to India has shown excellent results. Some fifty thousand tourists of more than sixty nationalities visited India in 1957, which is more than twice as many as in 1956. Americans formed the largest number and Britons the second largest.



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Homecoming by JIRO OSARAGI, translated by BREWSTER HORWITZ (Secker and Warburg, 15s.).

It is a good thing as Harold Strauss says in his Introduction, that Osaragi was not writing for a foreign public in his novel, *Homecoming*. Nowhere do we get the overworked theme of "so difficult to understand and to predict"; instead, we learn that the Japanese are, as we should expect, often faced with situations which are familiar to us, and we find, at last, that their reactions to such situations are frequently just as familiar and expected. Again, Osaragi now and again gives us Japan with the lid off:—"That's how Japan has always been . . . in constant fear of someone or something, hesitant and frightened and subservient. And it's still the same. That hasn't changed, for all our brave new world," for example—or, "We can't overcome our tendency to follow the leader. We're too proud of our borrowed plumage to have opinions of our own."

The translation is eminently successful—though some Japanese do not seem to have thought so. Apart from the first page or two and a very few conversational passages which seem to drag a little, the novel is very readable. The most notable passage of all is perhaps the revelation scene, where Kyogo Moriya (not Moryia, as the rather unnecessary note on the title page has it), some time after his return to the new Japan, first meets his daughter, the two brought together by the woman who had betrayed Moriya to the Japanese Military Police in Malaya. Again, to anyone who knows Kyoto, some of the scene setting descriptions are almost painfully nostalgic. One of the translator's techniques is, I feel, a mistake—the attempt to translate some—by no means all—of the place names. So we get Ricefield Bridge, Clear Water Shrine, and Canal of the Lute, although we are still left with Kamo River, Muromachi, Nakano, and many others. But would anyone be complacent about a walk from "Unity Square, along the Elysian Fields, as far as the Wood of Boulogne?"

G.B.

The Kabuki Theatre of Japan by A. C. SCOTT (Allen and Unwin, 30s.).

As the enchantment of the Kabuki is primarily visual, it may have universal appeal. But, for a deeper appreciation, it is necessary to have a certain knowledge of its historical and social background and the religious and philosophical influences that have moulded the art.

As a privileged Westerner, Mr. Scott has had access to the inner circles of the Japanese theatre and has been able to make a deep study of the Kabuki. The result is this comprehensive handbook, which should interest both the serious student and the general reader. He relates the historical development of the drama from the earliest times and also gives a detailed analysis of the actor's techniques, the music and the plays. The book is illustrated with a series of beautiful drawings and photographs made by the author.

An interesting aspect of the book is Mr. Scott's comparison of the Japanese and the Chinese theatres. He himself first came to the Kabuki by way of the classical drama of Peking and believes that for understanding the Kabuki it is useful to have a prior acquaintance with China, from whence came so much that has permeated Japanese culture.

Mr. Scott tells us that since the war, which brought great changes to the traditional pattern of life in Japan, the Kabuki art has declined. It is, he says, a new Kabuki that has taken the

FAR EAST

stage, and even from the Japanese point of view it seems to have become a kind of tourist attraction. It is sad to think that, as serious interest in the Kabuki is just beginning in the West, the opportunities for enthusiasts of the art to see the genuine forms of it are diminishing.

A.M.A.

The Charm of Indo-Islamic Architecture by JOHN TERRY (*Alec Tiranti*, 15s.).

This is a short introduction to Islamic architecture in the Indian subcontinent. It does not claim to be an exhaustive study, and there are many phases of Indo-Islamic building which are not dealt with. The addition of sixty-odd photographs with brief descriptive notes makes the book an interesting album for the general student. The author, a former principal of the Delhi School of Architecture, does not deal with the subject from the point of view of an art critic or sociologist, but lays emphasis mainly on structural developments.

The story of Moghul architecture has ended as far as India is concerned, although traces of its influence can still be noticed in modern building in northern India. But the story may be expected to be taken up in Pakistan and it will be interesting to observe future trends there.

A.M.A.

The Waterless Moon by ELIZABETH BALNEAVES (*Lutterworth Press*, 15s.).

One hopes that Miss Balneaves will continue to travel in the way she describes in this book. Not for her the sumptuous western-style hotels or the first-class railway compartments which are much the same the world over; she entered West Pakistan with more modest requirements, and because of this she gets closer to the people than many touring westerners.

Not a great deal happens in *The Waterless Moon*. It is rather a book for those who appreciate attempts to create verbally the climate of another way of life, and who like to savour descriptions of people and places, and how well her writing brings the countryside and the city streets to life! She is not concerned with the political issues that are the life-blood of every Pakistani I have met but with the people she meets in city and country: the women in their *burqas*, victims of a purdah system that keeps them in subjection; the disgruntled intellectuals; the hospital patients and so on. She meets too the British-trained Army officers who escort her on sight-seeing tours in Bahawalpur and allowed her to see the full glory of the Vale Hunt at Peshawar. It was not all slumming.

BERNARD LLEWELLYN

In Eastern Forests by ERIC LUNDQVIST (*Robert Hale*, 18s.).

An old resident in Indonesia, a Muslim and husband of Sari, a Javanese woman, returns to his former homeland after two years absence. Mr. Lundqvist has the trained observer's eye; not for him the casual glance, the hasty word of greeting. He is distressed by the condition of the people he knew in better days, the insecurity and confusion, terror and oppression. He finds his wife again and sets to work to reassure the people. The story of his quest for people he formerly knew, his account of what they told him; his record of his journey across New Guinea and his stay among cannibals, all make stimulating reading as a relief from the roar of aircraft crashing through the sound barrier and the dull reverberations of H-bomb explosions.

N.W.

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The Economic Development of Malaya

This is the latest report by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The mission spent several months in Malaya and Singapore, inquiring into such activities as agriculture, transport, and the social services. Its recommendations for the Federation put emphasis on replanting the rubber areas with high-yielding varieties which can compete successfully with synthetic rubber. For Singapore the greatest part of the proposed expenditure is to go towards housing, social services and public utilities. (Johns Hopkins Press)

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Books and Publications Received

This is Japan, 1956 (Tokyo: *Asahi Shimbun*).

Perhaps the best of these annuals so far—the standard of production, lay-out, illustrations and so on is superb, and the contents well chosen and varied. One of the liveliest articles is concerned with food—an essay in gourmandise by Robert Guillain, which as one would expect from a Frenchman, is lyrical in its evocation of the Japanese cuisine. Contributions from other non-Japanese include appraisals of the "real" Japan by James Cameron and Edmund Blunden, and descriptive articles on Japanese dolls, architecture and Atomic Research, while C. Albert Feissner, an American who has spent ten years in Japan with the US forces found Japan a "hunter's

paradise" and describes happy hours spent with gun and dog, "shooting no fewer than 65 pheasants yearly" in addition to other tempting targets such as goats, bears and wild boars. The more traditional aspects of Japan are not neglected—the art of wood block printing, old and new forms of architecture, the Kabuki, Japanese music and musical instruments and many descriptions of national customs, scenery and life in Japan today.

The A.B.C. World Airways Guide (Monthly 7s. 6d.).

Contains timetables and tariffs for all regular scheduled air services throughout the world together with detailed relevant information. A map section is included which comprises detailed route maps of all areas. For those who can unravel the mysteries of "Double Open-Jaw Routings" and wish to know whether the means of transport will be a Ilyushin II or a Grumman Goose this Guide will be interesting reading. All air-minded travellers will find it indispensable.

F.B.I. Register 1956 (Published for the Federation of British Industries by Kelly's Directories and Iliffe, 42s.).

Comprehensive guide to a substantial cross section of British industry, listing the products and services of over 7,000 firms, giving in many cases additional information such as branch offices, overseas agents and so on.

Change in Asia—The Colombo Plan in Pictures.

Produced by the Colombo Plan Information Unit to give a visual account of the Colombo Plan's achievements.

Federation of Malaya: Report on the Veterinary Department, 1954 (H.M.S.O., 3s. 6d.).

The report points out that no spectacular change in animal husbandry is possible in Malaya, owing to the physical limitations of the climate, land, and the comparatively small financial return from livestock kept on the small units customary in the Federation, therefore, the emphasis has been on increasing the productivity of livestock, although an encouraging increase in their numbers has also been achieved. The Report gives a full account, with all the details, of the treatments and advice which the department provided.

Federation of Malaya: Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1954 (H.M.S.O., 4s. 8d.).

Report of the Commissioners of Currency, Malaya and British Borneo, 1954 (Government Publications Bureau, Singapore, \$1).

Annual Report of the Rural Board, Singapore (Singapore, Government Publications Bureau, \$1.50).

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

NEWSPAPERS and periodicals in both East and West continue to take great interest in the Soviet leader's visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan and in the new links that Moscow has forged with these countries. The political dust having more or less settled, a clearer picture has now emerged of the Soviet Union's plan for "economic co-prosperity" in Asia. The *Eastern Economist*, New Delhi, in its annual number, expresses disappointment that Western response to the Communist competition has not so far shown any radical change of approach. "Seeing that the Free World capacity is so much greater than that of the Communist powers," observes the journal, "friends of the Free World here had to concede the first round in the new propaganda offensive entirely to the Communist side." It adds: "It is not that Free World assistance has not been far greater; it is the future, not the past, which the public mind tends to weigh in the balance." The paper goes on to point out that America's "recent meagre two-hundred-million-dollar provision" for Asia merely indicated "a token protective measure, but no deep passion for contributing on a scale commensurate with South-East Asia's needs or with the capacity of the Free World to assist development in underdeveloped areas." The theme of the *Eastern Economist* annual issue is "India and the Communist World" and the number contains a general review of India's political and economic ties with Eastern Europe and China.

Another Asian journal, *Jana*, published monthly from Colombo, devotes many pages in its February issue to Russian aid to Asia and analyses the agreements on trade and technical co-operation that the

USSR has concluded with India, Burma and Afghanistan. Referring to Russian help in regard to oil prospecting in India, the paper quotes a Minister of the Indian Government as having stated that Western foreign companies engaged in oil operations in India were unwilling to disclose the "trade secret" of oil prospecting. *Jana's* editorial is on "Liquidating Colonialism," a subject closely related to the rise of Communist influence in South-East Asia and Africa. The paper makes the suggestion that those Asian and African nations who are not directly involved in the present anti-colonial wars could work out a plan to end colonial rule by peaceful means. *Jana* itself puts forward a "workable plan for the liquidation of colonialism under the aegis of the United Nations," which deserves serious attention.

An article in the Labour Party monthly, *Socialist Commentary*, is about the Soviet leaders' visit to India and is written by a New Delhi journalist, G. N. S. Raghavan. He attributes the "overwhelmingly favourable" impression made by the visitors almost wholly to the personal hold that Mr. Nehru has on the people and the Indian press. "Without eight years of unremitting criticism of the West by Nehru for its colonial domination, racialism and military alliances—eight years of freedom during which he has not volunteered one corresponding word against Soviet colonialism in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, totalitarian tyranny or the vast and integrated military might of the Communist world—Khrushchev's outpourings would have met with the cold reception they should have in a politically mature neutral country." Apart from the unfair implication here that Mr. Nehru is "anti-West" a charge that is hardly legitimate against a Prime

Minister who only a few weeks ago was vehemently defending India's membership of the Commonwealth against strong opposition in Parliament, Mr. Raghavan's analysis fails to explain the enthusiastic reception Bulganin and Khrushchev received in Burma or the very evident shift away from the Western Powers in recent months in other South-East Asian countries. Mr. Raghavan refers to the dilemma of the Indian intellectual who has to choose "between a democratic West associated with capitalist exploitation and domination of coloured peoples, and a totalitarian system which is widely believed to have achieved economic justice and racial equality." But there is also another dilemma in which many Asian intellectuals find themselves today: the difficulty of attacking colonialism and racialism without being attacked in turn by men of Mr. Raghavan's way of thinking for being "anti-West." Happily, the *Socialist Commentary's* editorial shows a deeper appreciation of the political and emotional forces working in Asia today than does the article by this Indian journalist. While frankly pointing out the "black patches" in Britain's imperial record, the journal makes an important suggestion. It is that Britain could proclaim, and embody in law, her "unequivocal condemnation of race discrimination in every shape or form." "This law," it goes on to say, "would be applicable to this country, and amended to suit the circumstances of all those parts of the empire where our writ still runs. It would be an unambiguous expression of the British faith in the universal brotherhood of man. Such an enshrinement of our ideals would surely speak of the heart of every person of coloured race, wherever he might be. It would have a meaning for him which no other single act could possibly convey."

Sir John on the World Stage

By K. P. Ghosh

IN the post-Bandung, post-Geneva phase of international relations Ceylon occupies a place of unique interest. Because it played a key role in promoting the Bandung Conference for colonial freedom and world peace, the expectation is that it will probably become still more active in these fields. Having now gained entrance to the United Nations, Ceylon's moves within the Afro-Asian constellation will be subjected to keen scrutiny in all quarters.

Sir John Kotewala, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, in an autobiographical apologia for what he describes as his "strong stand" at Bandung, affords a glimpse of the prospects, as well as the handicaps of his country. For a small, newly independent state, Ceylon's diplomacy has great opportunities to make a disproportionately large thrust in world affairs, the chief limiting factor being the inadequacy of the Ceylonese leaders themselves.

Sir John, while enlightening his readers about his country's affairs, also entertains. During the birth pangs of the Colombo Powers, when the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan were drafting their final joint communique, Sir John records an incident in which he modestly demonstrates that "after all, even Prime Ministers are only human." At one stage, he writes,

... one of the Premiers lost control of himself, banged the table, and shouted at another, "You are nothing better than an American stooge!" To which the other retorted with equal heat, "And you are nothing better than a Russian stooge!"

It was at this moment, fraught with tension, that I lost my own temper, as Chairman, and exploded. I shouted to them to stop bickering and behave themselves. I asked them to remember that we were Prime Ministers.

The author forbears to name his over-excited colleagues, or to elucidate further how the existence of the two great nuclear powers was creating tensions in the new Asia. But he notes

* An Asian Prime Minister's Story by Sir John Kotewala, K.B.E. (Harrap, 15s.).

the "undoubted success" of the Colombo Conference, marking the emergence of Ceylon and himself as a vigorous diplomatic force.

Colombo to Bandung was a perfectly natural development in Asian self-assertion. Though the first, in Nehru's description, was the "brain child" of Sir John, the second took place largely in response to the initiative of the Indonesian Prime Minister at that time, Mr. Ali Sastroamidjojo. In Bandung Sir John fought an intrepid, if somewhat less than glorious battle to prevent the limelight from falling too exclusively on Chou En-lai and Nehru. In this he had a measure of success, at any rate in the Western press.

In attacking "Soviet colonialism" in equal degree with "Western imperialism," Sir John says, "I did not drop a bombshell in Bandung, as some people think . . . when I made my now famous remarks . . . on the subject of colonialism," but he records that the "atmosphere was electric." Chou asked him whether he wanted to break up the Conference, and Nehru, even

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more agitated, enquired whether he wanted to be a disturber of the peace.

... Nehru came up to me and asked me in some heat, "Why did you do that, Sir John? Why did you not show me your speech before you made it?"

I have no doubt the remark was well meant, but the only obvious reply I could make was "Why should I? Do you show me yours before you make them?"

Sir John disclaims any desire to record this incident, which was fully reported "with embellishments" in the Western press. But he notes with evident satisfaction that "I must have been the only topic of conversation in Bandung that evening . . ." Sir John owes many debts to the American press in particular, but delicately refrains from mentioning his popularity in that quarter. He even goes so far as to suppress the source of a lengthy quotation (p. 189) which raps the Ceylonese opposition parties over the knuckles, and tells them how "highly sportsmanlike" was Sir John's behaviour.

It is certainly through no act of his that the governments represented at the United Nations, as well as the public throughout the world, associate the new Asia with the Bandung spirit as a great movement against Western imperialism. Sir John has made it abundantly clear in this book, as in his career, that he is a

pragmatist rather than a student of history. The book will go far towards correcting mistaken assumptions in the West of what he really stands for.

On his own showing, Sir John is not over-particular about personal behaviour or legal niceties. He gives instances of his use of foul language and personal violence when provoked, in a casual manner suggesting that he regards this as perfectly *commil faut*. In political matters, on the other hand, he bends over backwards to clear himself of any suspicion of questionable conduct, leaving one with the uneasy impression that he really knows better. For example, he devotes a great deal of space to the scandal caused in Ceylon by a document known as "The Premier Stakes, 1952," which very nearly led to his own "explosive exit from public life," but by failing to reveal either its authorship or its substance, he deprives the uninformed reader of any means of judging the issue.

The real importance of the book lies perhaps less in what its author has intended to convey than in his revelation of Ceylon's strengths and weaknesses as one of the new independent states of Asia, and the contrast between the part it has played and the part it could potentially play in the affairs of that dynamic continent.

INDIAN LITERATURE IN HUNGARY

By József Vekerdi (Budapest)

IN the old days Europeans thought of India as a mysterious realm of fabulous riches and wise sorcerers. In the Middle Ages, Indian literature in Hungary became known through Persian, Arab and Syrian sources. In a long, round-about way Indian legends, such as parts of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, reached medieval Hungary completely changed. For instance, the life of Gautama Buddha was known as the legend of the Christian Saint Prince Josphat. The Indian origin of the legend was not even known. The *Panchatantra* was the first work which reached Europe in its entirety, although at first transmitted by Persia and Turkey. In the 17th and 18th centuries the *Panchatantra* was translated into Hungarian under titles such as "Widom of ancient India" and "Historical and Imaginary Tales of Bidpai and Lokman." At that time there was hardly any real interest in Hungary in Indian literature. The two *Panchatantra* translations were little read and soon forgotten.

Some decades later, at the beginning of the 19th century, Hungarian scientists and writers began to be interested in India. One thousand years earlier the Magyars migrated to Europe from Asia, and when European scholars explored ancient Indian literature and culture at the end of the 18th century, they realised that Hungary had closer ties with India than any other European country. They searched for the cradle of the Magyars in India, and the opinion that the Hungarian language was derived from the Sanskrit became widely accepted. Alexander Csoma de Koros, the greatest of all Hungarian orientalists, set out for India by foot to trace the origin of the Magyars. This was the ultimate aim of his journey. In the course of his scientific work he became the originator and greatest expert of a new branch of science, Tibetology.

Csoma de Koros failed to reach his goal, but the interest awakened in India at that time did not abate. In the middle of last century the best Hungarian poets, Arany and Vorosmarty, did much to bring Ancient Indian literature to the notice of the Hungarian reading public. Arany also translated Shakespeare, and his texts are still performed on the Hungarian stage today. At that time Sanskrit literature was known through English translations only, and the poetic genius of Arany succeeded in capturing the characteristic spirit of Indian literature through the medium of the English language. In a

highly sensitive treatise he pointed out the contrast between Sanskrit and Greek drama, both of which he considered perfect in themselves. To illustrate his treatise he translated passages of Kalidasa's *Sakuntala* into Hungarian. He chose those parts of the drama which are particularly lyrical, among them descriptions of nature, of extracts conveying the mood of the characters, because he regarded them the highlights of the drama. Apart from the drama, Arany also studied two great epic poems, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. He was the first Hungarian to write a treatise on Sanskrit literature and although he did not work from the original, his views are still acceptable today.

The example of the great poet was soon to be followed. K. Szasz, one of his younger poet friends, wrote a book about the great epics of universal literature, giving first place to Sanskrit epic poetry. Although he, too, worked from English, French and German translations of Sanskrit, he had a thorough knowledge of the subject. Apart from discussing the two great Hindu epics in his book, he gave a comprehensive picture of the whole of earlier Sanskrit literature, the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads*, the *Puranas*, and of Hindu religion. His book was widely read, and it is to his credit that the names and works of the greatest Sanskrit poets became known in Hungary. He was only second to Arany as a translator and rendered many beautiful passages from the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* into Hungarian. Many of us were introduced in our youth to the beauties of Sanskrit poetry through that work.

At that time Hungarian scholars were wont to compare Sanskrit and European literature and draw a parallel between the *Mahabharata* and the ancient Greek epics. At the turn of this century Hungarian researchers were no longer examining Indian literature from the point of view of its similarity or divergence from European culture, but for its own sake. A start was made in Sanskrit philology, a scientific approach was made to the Sanskrit language and literature, and translations were published which gave a deeper insight into Sanskrit literature as a whole. The veil of the unknowable was being lifted on India. This brought with it greater interest, shown by the series of translations of outstanding Sanskrit works published one after the other in the first few decades of this century. Following in the footsteps of Arany, a complete translation from the original appeared of

Kalidasa's *Sakuntala*, the episodes of *Nala* and *Damayanti* from the *Mahabharata*, and the story of *Savitri*, the *Hitopadesa*, and others. In 1904 a Hungarian scientist, K. Fiok, wrote the first history of Sanskrit literature in Hungarian. Fiok was a well-qualified scholar for this work, as he knew Sanskrit well, had a comprehensive knowledge of Sanskrit literature, and was also a talented translator. His history is illustrated with many verse and prose translations.

Knowledge about Indian literature and culture began to be really widespread in Hungary before the first World War. The political events that took place after the war cut short this upward trend in a tragic and at the same time, comical manner. The Council Republic was proclaimed in Hungary in 1919. When the Hungarian Council Republic was overthrown three months later, those who had taken part in it were punished. Politics brutally interfered in scientific life as well. At that time Professor Schmidt, who was an outstanding Sanskrit scholar, occupied the Chair of Indo-European philology at Budapest University. Professor Schmidt had sympathised with the Hungarian Council Republic; for this he was dismissed from his chair and the faculty dissolved. This meant that for 25 years there was no systematic research work on India in Hungary. Professor Schmidt's spirit was broken by the events and he died a few years later. In the last years of his life he produced some valuable translations which helped to bring Indian literature closer to the Hungarian public. He translated the *Panchatantra*, which our fathers had known before us through Persian and Turkish interpretations, and scored considerable success with this lively, entertaining work. The book was soon sold out.

After his dismissal Professor Schmidt did much in Hungary for the popularisation of Indian literature besides translating. He wrote a number of works on Sanskrit literature, a book about Sanskrit epics, Hindu philosophy, and a separate monograph about Kalidasa. His great service, however, was *The History of Sanskrit Literature* published in 1923, one of the finest works written by European historians of literature. It deals with all important works of Sanskrit literature, from the *Rig-veda* to *Jayadeva* on a highly scientific level and in a really enjoyable style. With unparalleled ingenuity he succeeded in giving a full bibliography in 222 pages without turning it into a dry list and even finding space to include translations from Sanskrit literature.

The *Bhagavad-gita* is known in Hungary not only through the adaptation of the *Mahabharata*. Annie Besant's English interpretation, translated in full into Hungarian, went through two editions. A translation of this exquisite religious and philosophic poem from the original Sanskrit is now being prepared for the press. The translator is Ervin Baktay, who is responsible for the translation of the *Mahabharata*. The first Hungarian edition of the *Bhagavad-gita* was more than just a translation. When it appeared in the inter-war period, interest in Hungary in the Hindu religion and ancient Hindu philosophy was gaining ground. This prompted the inclusion in the volume of a detailed introduction and commentary, which were designed to explain the hidden theosophical content of the poetic work. The world outlook of Hungarians today has changed, and they view Indian culture from a different standpoint. Fifteen to twenty years ago, however, mystical explanations of ancient and modern Hindu literature were in the vogue. Many books were published on the mystical interpretation of the Yoga system. Most of these books do not present Hindu philosophy in the right light. They often bore the stamp of European religions and philosophic systems.

The only modern poet to be translated before the second World War was Rabindranath Tagore, the Nobel Prize winner. The Hungarian reading public were fascinated by his profound philosophy, the beauty of expression, and the lyricism of his language. Much of his poetry has been translated and treatises have been written about him. Rabindranath Tagore also at one time exercised some influence on Hungarian poetry.

After the end of the Second World War cultural policy in Hungary underwent great change. The publishing firms were nationalised in 1949 and since then publishing in Hungary has been centralised.

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Since 1950 there has been a new approach to the translation of foreign literature. Hungarian publishers set themselves the aim of translating all that is most valuable in the literature of peoples in all parts of the world. The result was that the Hungarian public came to know the writings of European, Asian and American authors whose names they had hardly known before. It should be mentioned that Hungarian literature can look back on a wealthy tradition of high-standard, poetic translations, particularly in the last hundred years. Hungarian is, perhaps, due to its phonetic system more adaptable to verse translations than most European languages, which is particularly evident in the case of Sanskrit and other Indian poetry. The Hungarian language is able to reproduce even the most artistic and complex forms. Yet it is a fact that although our language is extremely adaptable to the interpretation of Hindu poetry, Hungarian literature is not as rich in translations from Sanskrit and other Indian languages as we should like. In the past it was impossible to make up for this, because after the First World War the Chair of Indo-European Philology of Budapest University was abolished and from then onwards there was no institution concerned with the languages and literature of India. However, in 1947 the Chair of Indo-European Philology was again brought to life. It was a slow and hard task training young scholars of Indian studies but good results are beginning to show.

It would, however, take too long before young Hungarian scholars are trained who are capable of disseminating knowledge about Indian literature. Interest in Indian literature is greater today than ever before, and translators capable of translating directly from one or other of the Indian languages are still lacking, the publishers found it necessary to translate modern Indian works from the English or Russian. Not long ago two English novels by Mulk Raj Anand appeared, and one volume of Indian short stories in 1953, containing selected stories by thirteen contemporary Indian writers.

The postscript of the volume points to the difficulties the editor had to contend with: "In compiling the volume, we did not have ample and varied material at our disposal from which to make selections. Our cultural relations with India are still quite loose . . . At present we are not yet in a position to compile a volume that would cover the whole scale of colour of Indian life."

We are not quoting this editor's note only to point to existing difficulties. This also expresses a desire and hope that before long Hungarian readers might obtain a more profound knowledge of India's contemporary literature. In the two years that have elapsed some advance has been made, and shortly new translations will appear.

A great omission of the past is being made good by Hungarian publishers today. Now every effort is being made systematically to translate and popularise Sanskrit literature. Popular talks are being given on Sanskrit literature which are well attended. New translations of some hymns of the *Rig-veda* from the poetry of Kalidasa and the *Vetalapanchavimsati* have appeared; the *Sringaratilaka*, some extracts of the *sakas* of *Amaru* and *Bhartrihari* will appear shortly. About twelve pieces of Hala's *Sattasai* represents the Middle Indian literature.

In the next few years a large number of Sanskrit translations are planned, among them the complete lyrical works of Kalidasa. An

anthology will appear containing a number of hymns from the *Rig-veda* and *Atharva-veda*, the gems of later Sanskrit poetry, among them Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda*.

Today more works are being translated from the Sanskrit and their standard is higher than previously. This can be attributed to the fact that while in the old days ancient Indian literature was translated from the original by scholars with a poetic vein or by poets from the English or German, today new translations are the joint work of the best poets and the scholars of Sanskrit literature. Each translation is preceded by exhaustive discussion. After the work is done, discussions are held on how faithfully the poet succeeded in interpreting the Sanskrit original. Only then is the manuscript sent to the printers. All translations are in the same metrical form as the original. We are convinced that we have some of the most beautiful translations of Indian poetry.

All this is not an easy task. We are particularly dependent on India for help in translating and studying contemporary Indian literature. But we are certain that cultural ties between India and Hungary will become even closer. Even if Alexander Csoma de Koros's dream of discovering the Indian origin of the Magyars did not come true, the friendship with the Indian people of the Magyars who migrated to Europe from Asia will soon become more extensive and fraternal.

"On the bridge by the Water Gate
The lone shadow of a monk I saw.
In the sough of dancing leaves
How still he did stand.
I tipsy-tiptoed up to him and asked:
'What are you seeking here, sir?'
Reply he did not, but pointed
His cane to white clouds over
The farthest peak . . ."

—An old Korean poem

WHEN in 1909 the Japanese occupied Korea and converted it into a military governorship, they inaugurated a period of both mental and physical oppression. During World War II, for instance, the use of the Korean language was absolutely prohibited by the Japanese authorities, but because of our love for our own culture, however, the language not only survived but developed rapidly.

The beginning of modern poetry in Korea can be traced back to the historic birth in 1923 of the Association of Proletarian Literature and Arts. Under the leadership of the Korean Communist Party such avant garde poets as Lim Hwa, Kwon Han and Lee Chan introduced a socio-realistic school of poetry. They advocated for the first time in Korean history individual freedom, promotion of industry and the spread of cultural advantages for the people. They revolutionised the traditional language of poetry and used instead the everyday conversational speech of the proletariat. Kwon Han's remarkably simple poem, *A Wish*, is a good illustration:

"I don't want no throne of a dictator
At whose step the people must bow;
I don't want no mine with gold ore
And silver overflowing.
I don't want no burning lips
Of a rose-like cute little babe;
I don't want no bronze statue
In the heart of a park standing.
I just want to take this flute
And play it as I please."

Then in defiance of the Communist poets such Romantics as Chung Ji-yong, Pak Chong-hwa and Lee Kwang-su challenged the "predominance of reason" (that is the growing interest in dialectical materialism) emphasising instead the importance of

SOME NOTES ON MODERN KOREAN POETRY

By P. Hyun

feeling and intuition in poetry. Interest also in the past was shown in their works and they had the tendency to observe nature, leaning often toward the metaphysical. Here is an incidental piece by Chung Ji-yong:

"In the Valley of Ku-Sung-Dong
The shooting stars are buried,
Where oft at dusk
Noisy showers of hail gather,
Where the nameless flowers
Live in exile,
Where once an old temple stood
With no wind ligering.
In the dim mountain shadow
A deer is moving over the ridge."

Kim Ki-rim, father of the Korean symbolism, owed much to Baudelaire and Verlaine. He rebelled against the socio-realism and romanticism of the period and sought to express objects, moods and ideas through the delicate medium of emblems and symbols:

"The white butterfly had no fear of the sea,
For she was not told of its deep deep depth.
Mistaking the sea as a green green field,
She soaked her wings over the waves
And shivered like a poor little queen.
In the month of purple blue violet
There was no fragrance of flowers on the sea,
But dyed in pale pale blue was the new moon
On the shoulders of the butterfly."

World War II was over in the summer of 1945 but the allied victory did not bring the promised liberty and independence to Korea. It brought instead the tragic division of the tiny peninsula and consequently today's cataclysm in Korea. The

indignation caused by the alien occupiers and their native collaborators can easily be seen in some modern Korean poetry. Sul Chung-sic, for instance, has written a remarkable allegorical poem entitled *The Wrath of Gods* based upon a story from the Christian scripture:

“... Wag not therefore your wily tongues,
Nor seek to amass fortunes,
Nor lick the honey from alien hands.
But regain your primeval senses,
Follow the steps of the people,
Poor and just.
And weep and repent
Upon the hills of Samaria!
Then
In your dispossessed motherland
The virgin-daughter of Israel will re-arise.
For that she is mother of all life.”

No matter how much they suffered, Korean poets have always loved their country and comforted themselves by its everlasting beauty. It is little wonder that Yang Ju-dong, one of the most brilliant of Korean intellectuals today, chanted so proudly under a merciless tyranny:

“Although they are alone and lonely,
Although they are tearful and weary,
With life and spirit in their bodies,
They are the people of this land.
O I am a son of this land! . . .”

Although there is no rhyme in the academic sense of the word in modern Korean poetry, it is poetically substituted by the musicality and vivid metaphors which are its two major characteristics. Take, for example, a poem, *The Summit*, by Lee Yuk-sa who, at the age of 39, during World War II, was tortured to death by the Japanese military police at Peking. The poem is filled with vivid metaphors and quaint rhythms, at least in the original:

“Whipped by the bitter season's scourge,
At last I am driven to this north.”
I stand upon the swordblade frost,
Where numb circuit and plateau merge.
I know not where to bend my knees,
Nor where to lay my vexed steps.
Naught but to close my eyes
And think of winter as a steel rainbow.”

In conclusion, it is interesting to note that there is a marked difference between Korean and Western poetry. In Western poetry, where particular attention is paid to objective qualities, the expression of human thoughts and feelings consequently receives the foremost consideration, as though it were more important or nobler than other themes. In Korean poetry, however, flowers and landscapes and even lifeless rocks are considered as high as God's highest creation—the human being. Flowers and landscapes and similar things may be devoid of soul, but the Korean poets turn them into nobler objects, as the fruit of their imagination and meditation imparts to them the lofty spiritual attributes of man. The following poem, *Individuality*, by Kim Kwang-sub is a good example of this theory:

“In a mountain glen of poverty—
If born a pebble
And grow not a bulky rock;
If flow as a brook
And reach not a wide sea;
Seize the moment to
Rise to Infinity.”

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ECONOMIC SECTION

A JAPANESE EXPERIMENT

By Seitaro Okawa (Tokyo)

ALTHOUGH in some countries the development of nuclear energy has reached a stage where it is about to be applied to practical peaceful uses, there are still many areas in Asia and Africa which are not yet able to receive the elementary benefits of electricity. In Japan 96 per cent. of the country is served with electric power, putting it among the world's highest consumers of electricity. But because of certain geographical and economic reasons there are still communities in the country who are unable to utilise electric power supplied by power companies.

One such community overcame topographical and other difficulties and under Government guidance constructed a small-scale electric generation plant. It is an interesting story of enterprise and resource.

Yasuno-ga-hara is situated approximately a hundred miles north-east of Tokyo in Nasu County, Tochigi Prefecture. It is a flat forested area, and although many people went to this area after the war, forests of red pine trees still remain. Very little of the virgin land has been cultivated. Aoki, a village community situated in Nasuno, is hidden in the 1,960 acres of forest area, previously owned by Viscount Aoki who threw it open to the public after the war. Settlers began to come in from the autumn of 1945. Of the 197 households in the community, repatriates

from Manchuria account for 70 per cent. The rest are former soldiers and the second and third sons of local farmers.

The area allotted to each household for cultivation is about 11 acres, but all of the land has not yet been cleared. So far only about 90 per cent. of the initial goal of opening up 6.86 acres of land has been attained. Since these settlers do not possess the privileges of water, they are unable to make paddy fields and, therefore, engage only in truck farming.

The settlers had unfortunately to live in darkness during the night. Owing to the acute shortage of goods immediately following the war, they were even unable to obtain candles and kerosene for lighting purposes. Driven to desperation, they dug up the roots of the pine trees and burned them to obtain what little light they could. Naturally, they did not have any equipment for extracting oil from the roots. This inconvenient and depressing system of lighting their homes continued for a year. In 1946 a movement was launched by the farmers of the village for better lighting. This started off a series of campaigns by settlers to obtain electricity, but their requests were turned down by the private power companies, which contended that the expense would far exceed the level of profitable operations.

In 1951 however, the Law for Financing the Agriculture,

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Forestry and Fishing Industries was enacted, and in the following year another law for promoting the induction of electricity into farming and fishing villages was established. The purpose of the latter was to introduce electricity into those villages not adequately provided with it and thereby to help increase production as well as to elevate the living standards of the people. To achieve this purpose the Government was prepared to extend loans.

The settlers, who realised that their only hope was to generate their own electricity, applied for a Government loan to erect a small hydro-electric power plant in accordance with the laws. With capital now fairly assured, the villagers looked about for a suitable river. It was finally decided to utilise the Nasu waterway, which had an abundant flow. The agricultural co-operative units got together and organised the Nasuno-gahara Agricultural Co-operative for the Development of Electricity for Cultivation. Following a survey, work was started in 1952 and completed in September of the same year. By October the long-awaited electricity was flowing.

The condition for erecting a small hydro-electric power plant is that 20 per cent. of the total construction costs are met by private capital and 80 per cent. by the Government. The total cost of the Nasuno plant was £10,940. The plant was constructed in the middle of the Nasu waterway which branches off from the Naka river. At this point the water flow is 4.4 cubic metres a second. Taking advantage of this a dam was constructed. Fifty kilowatts of electricity is generated by using a head as low as 2.5 metres. Electricity and lighting are provided for 224 households belonging to members of the co-operative, and additional requests have brought the number up to 236 by this year. Thirty more poles have had to be erected above the original 710 in 1952.

As the power plant could not be constructed in the ordinary way in which a high head is utilised because of topographical conditions, the method of generation based on a low head had to be used with a water turbine specifically suitable for a low head. The power plant is a wooden structure with a tiled roof and floor space of 105 sq. ft. On both sides of the waterway concrete embankments extending 240 metres upstream were built to prevent overflow. There is no fear of the plant flooding since a sluice gate has been built at the entrance to the waterway from the Naka river.

Three years have already passed since the people of this community began receiving the full benefits of electricity and no longer need rely on roots of pine trees and oil lamps for lighting. Electricity charges, moreover, are much cheaper than that charged by private power companies. The co-operative also operates a factory manufacturing agricultural products. In addition, the factory polishes rice and wheat, mills flour,

presses wheat, grinds beans and makes noodles at extremely low charges.

The farmers have also erected wire fences charged with electricity to keep their domesticated animals from straying. Some households use electric hot plates, and the local primary school even has a public speaker system installed. Households with radios have now reached 120. The farmers of this area have obtained light and power through unity. They are now going ahead with plans to construct a second power plant to take care of new settlers.

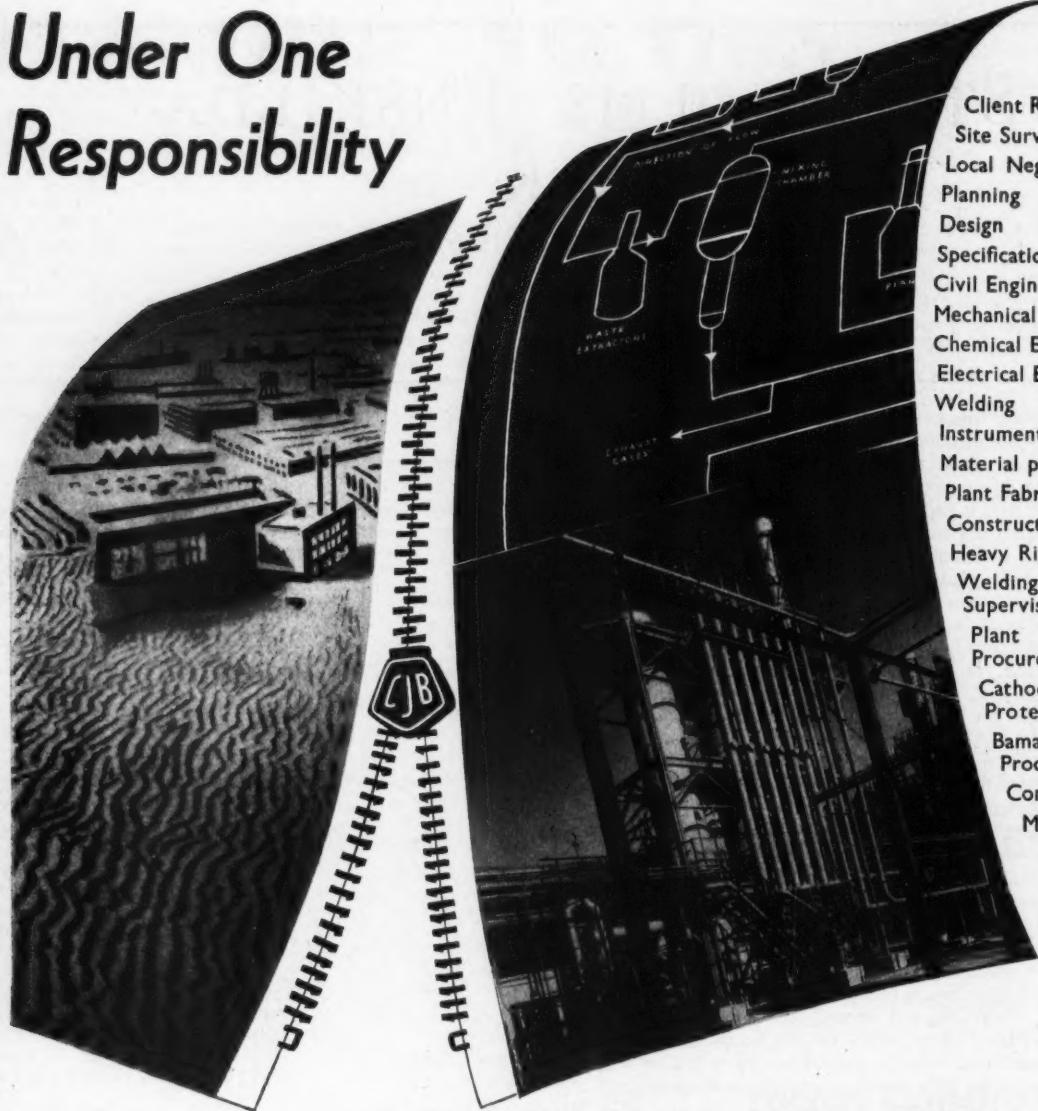
Norway's Trade with the East

		Imports		Exports	
		(in 1,000 N. Kr.)		1955	1954
		(First eleven months of the year)			
China	...	10,401	16,241	86	242
Philippines	...	34,513	35,534	1,064	1,647
Indonesia	...	15,698	16,970	15,938	13,068
Japan	...	19,447	9,658	1,189	2,049
Korea	...	1	—	1,204	1,464
Thailand	...	3,126	3,891	6,329	6,809
Indo-China	...	49	121	2,820	1,486
Formosa	...	10	50	92	448
Burma	...	1,171	234	3,999	4,618
Ceylon	...	2,385	2,770	3,610	3,032
India	...	15,769	8,167	43,741	33,584
Pakistan	...	5,374	1,532	5,742	9,856
Hong Kong	...	2,759	8,985	6,606	7,934
Malaya and Singapore	...	23,852	13,238	8,862	9,959
New Zealand	...	2,962	2,527	13,594	12,834

Denmark's Trade with Asia and the Pacific

		Import		Exports	
		(All figures in 1,000 D.Kr.)		1955	1954
Burma	...	1,273	1,091	10,343	6,813
India	...	17,867	11,268	25,412	20,497
Pakistan	...	2,867	506	6,395	2,440
Ceylon	...	4,284	4,684	2,261	2,021
Thailand	...	8,956	8,321	13,750	21,806
Indonesia	...	4,825	3,949	14,714	12,916
Philippines	...	49,064	41,048	2,813	3,319
Malaya	...	5,668	10,273	28,832	27,088
China	...	1,100	1,915	452	924
Formosa	...	204	—	543	—
Japan	...	38,900	6,033	11,591	16,918
Korea	...	—	—	1,530	895
Hong Kong	...	7,244	10,016	7,584	18,302
Australia	...	5,240	4,414	19,581	15,068
New Zealand	...	2,821	5,378	7,092	4,973

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Indo-Scandinavian Trade

India's imports from Scandinavian countries have developed considerably:

(7 months—April to October)

	1954	Rs.	1955
Finland	11,721,165		13,408,406
Sweden	34,042,572		41,630,083
Norway	14,230,068		15,980,649
Denmark	12,281,551		22,449,676

Among prominent imports from Scandinavian countries are the products of the paper industry, including packing and wrapping paper: from Sweden—Rs. 4,514,774; Norway—Rs. 1,370,470; printing paper: from Finland—Rs. 11,576,505; Sweden—Rs. 2,335,336; Norway—Rs. 5,234,683; writing paper and envelopes: Sweden—Rs. 939,029, Norway—Rs. 702,313; paper-making materials: Sweden—Rs. 6,123,676.

India's imports of provisions from Denmark increased during this period from Rs. 4.8 million to Rs. 6.1 million.

India's exports to the Scandinavian countries developed as follows:

(7 months—April to October)

	1954	Rs.	1955
Finland	1,242,670		2,328,531
Sweden	7,331,336		7,222,809
Norway	2,293,394		5,375,086
Denmark	6,350,690		11,925,630

Sweden's Cement Industry

THE Swedish cement industry has progressed remarkably since 1874, when the first plant was established at Lomma near Malmö. The industry has as its basis the large limestone deposits of the country, and while it has spread to other parts of Sweden, its main stronghold is still in Scania.

An important development took place in 1893 when CEMENTA, the sales organisation for seven of Sweden's eight cement factories was formed. It now handles the sale of about 85 per cent. of all the cement produced in the country. At present, the productive capacity of these seven plants amounts to 2,350,000 tons per annum and plans for further increased capacity are being executed.

The cement factories are carrying out a constant modernisation process and have up-to-date laboratories to test and control the product of each plant, whereas the research work is centralised at the Cement and Concrete Laboratory at Limhamn. The Swedish cement industry was the first to use paper bags of excellent quality for the transport of cement. The quality of Swedish cement enjoys a fine reputation all over the world for not only meeting the requirements of the established specifications for cement (including the ordinary PC type—BS 12: 1947, lowheat PC—BS 1370: 1947 and other types), but also exceeding them by a considerable margin.

From the point of view of exports the vicinity of ports to the factories is of great importance and the Skanska Cement AB, Limhamn, is situated at the Limhamn port, while Skanska Cement AB, Slite, (both members of CEMENTA) is situated on the island of Gotland next the Slite port. Both ports provide favourable conditions for exports.

CEMENTA has been exporting Swedish cement to various parts of the world and among these exports were the following in 1954 and 1955:

	1954	1955
(metric tons)		
Saudi Arabia	38,835	50,495
Kuwait	41,725	104,954
Iran	1,000	—
Pakistan	1,311	22,497
Burma	—	2,470
Indonesia	6,177	1,400
Australia	19,812	—
South Korea	19,633	—
Siam	10,075	7,312

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Danish-Chinese Trade Decreased in 1955

The trade between Denmark and China decreased in 1955, but at the end of last year a very representative Danish trade delegation visited Peking and it is expected that this will result in increased commerce between the two countries. The delegation was headed by Mr. Axel Gruhn of AS Ths. Sabroe & Co., Aarhus, and Consul Paul F. Elm, of the East Asiatic Company. It also included directors of the branch offices of some Danish firms in Hong Kong.

Pakistan forces did not participate in the SEATO combined exercises, owing to "short notice."

The US Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles, stated on 6th February that he believed that Soviet and Communist Chinese efforts to woo Pakistan away from SEATO and the Baghdad Pact would fail. Pakistanis, he said, were members of the pacts because they were aware of the predatory nature of Soviet foreign policy and, being a deeply religious people, find the Soviet attitude towards religion repugnant.

Sweden's Trade with Asia and Far East

	Import		Export	
	January—October		January—October	
	1954	1955	1954	1955
(In million kronor)				
Afghanistan	0.6	1.3	0.2	0.0
Pakistan	17.3	12.8	27.2	25.4
India, including the former French Possessions in India	16.9	19.4	55.6	61.8
Ceylon	16.0	10.0	3.5	4.0
British Malaya	77.1	68.9	12.5	12.5
Indonesia	36.5	33.6	32.2	28.3
Philippines	1.9	35.2	4.6	4.5
China	7.4	9.8	2.3	6.6
Formosa	0.5	0.3	1.5	0.9
Hong Kong	4.2	5.7	15.1	11.2
Japan	40.9	62.8	29.3	15.8
South Korea	0.6	0.1	1.6	1.4
North Korea	—	—	—	—

British Wool Trade with Australasia

THE UK wool industry has a two-way trade with Australasia. In 1955 the imports from that area accounted for nearly 75 per cent. of the total value of UK imports of wool and other animal hair.

UK Imports of Wool and other Animal Hair and Tops:

Total imports	1954		1955	
	£	£	£	£
including from:		196,750,319		192,331,884
Australia	86,328,398		86,672,281	
New Zealand	44,458,059		44,648,865	
India	5,551,054		4,910,792	
Pakistan	2,623,985		2,459,546	
China	1,266,087		2,563,030	

These overall imports comprised the following imports of raw sheep's and lambs' wool:

Total imports	1954		1955	
	million lb.	£	million lb.	£
including from:	684	184,669,856	724.3	177,707,977
Australia	291.7	86,135,532	338.5	86,474,560
New Zealand	186.4	44,436,649	186.1	44,620,217
India	24.0	5,455,087	20.4	4,729,543
Pakistan	11.3	2,537,248	10.3	2,388,960
China	1.8	267,302	1.6	269,916

It can be seen from the above figures that while the total value of

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these imports decreased slightly in 1955 as against 1954, the total imported quantities rose during the same period by 40 million lb., and those from Australia by over 46 million lb.

According to Sir John Keeling, Chairman of the West Riding Worsted and Woollen Mills Ltd., the price of merino wool and crossbred wool went down by 20 per cent. between August 31, 1954 and August 31, 1955. This decrease resulted in the fact that Australia's wool cheque for the last six months of 1955 was £A144 million which is £A15 million less than the previous year. This was despite an increase of nearly 300,000 bales in the amount of wool received for sale. The Secretary of the National Council of Wool Selling Brokers of Australia, Mr. Williams, said that, compared with 1954, the figures show an average drop in price of 13.31d. per lb. The first wool sales of 1956 have, however, shown a small increase of prices over those at the end of 1955.

The increase of UK wool imports from China in 1955 is remarkable. In addition to raw sheep's and lambs' wool, they included 4,144 centals of camels' hair—£187,916; raw goat hair, including cashmere (other than mohair) 30,189 centals—£2,081,986; raw angora, 51 cwt.—£6,400; other hair 73 centals—£15,413.

Asian countries represent important markets for the UK wool industry. Last year approximately one third of the total UK exports of woollens went to that area, namely to India (£4,608,163), Pakistan (£1,027,929), Hong Kong (£867,291), China (£5,091,314), Formosa (£270,614) and Japan (£1,269,119). In addition Japan imported from the UK raw wool to the amount of £278,860 and wool waste to the value of £190,662.

During 1955 UK exports of woollen and worsted yarns and woven fabrics to Australasia developed as follows: India—£553,347 (1954—£545,194), Pakistan—£227,115 (£100,997), Singapore—£247,034 (£233,664), Hong Kong—£3,166,928 (£3,142,405), Australia—£1,833,281 (£1,989,347), New Zealand—£4,821,940 (£5,708,133), Burma—£149,704 (£326,533), Indonesia—£121,222 (£215,501), Japan—£278,755 (£1,468,577), Mauritius—£183,939 (£136,635).

Worsted yarn exports, included in the above mentioned figures for 1955 were: 237,181 lb. (£116,832) to India; 784,890 lb. (£547,368) to Hong Kong; 1,152,383 lb. (£995,995) to New Zealand; 693,011 lb. (£475,234) to Japan; as well as 219,814 lb. woollen yarn valued at £171,286 to New Zealand.

The exports of woollen and worsted woven fabrics to these markets in 1955 were as follows:

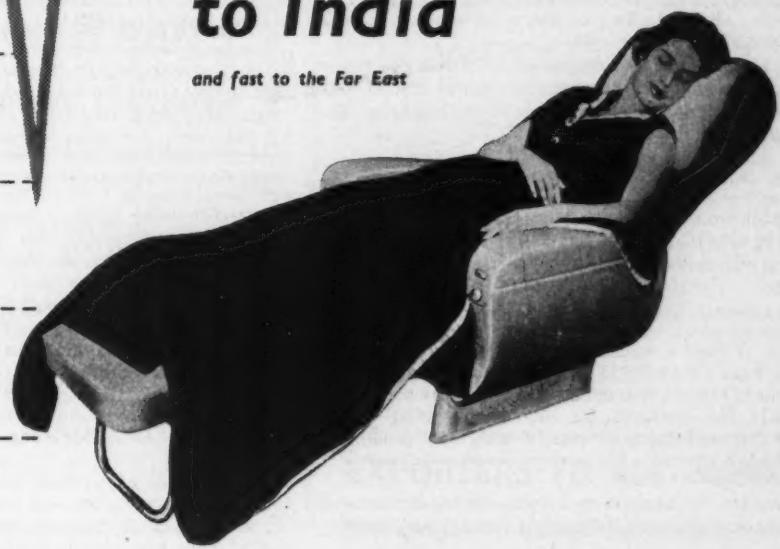
	Quantities	Value
	(1,000 sq. yds.)	£
Japan	2,366	2,009,349
India	831	328,342
Pakistan	336	188,168
Singapore	398	199,929
Hong Kong	3,553	2,460,001
Australia	2,759	1,319,491
New Zealand	6,639	3,437,715

These figures represent increased exports to all these markets with the exception of New Zealand. A particularly great increase took place in exports to Japan which imported only 1,125,000 sq. yds. from the UK in 1954.

Due to the fact that more and more people in Asia are wearing western-style clothes, it is expected in Australia that a big expansion of wool sales will take place in these markets.

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SCIENCE AIDS INDIAN WOOL

By **Henry Foster** (International Wool Secretariat)

INDIA has the well-justified belief that greater production of high quality wools can bring her increased prosperity. It is natural, therefore, that in the post-war years she has been taking stock of her wool-growing and wool textile industries to see what can be done to improve quality and production rates.

There are, however, a number of obstacles to be overcome before these objects can be achieved. Improvement schemes now in their early stages must, because of the very nature of the industries, take some years to implement fully.

What are these obstacles? Briefly, so far as wool production is concerned, they are climate, pasture, breeds, disease, and the widespread nature of the industries. The climate cannot be changed, nor is there any likelihood of making the industries more compact. Yet something can be done to improve pasture and breeds, and to combat disease. In these respects India is able to call on many achievements of modern science.

The most important object in any wool expansion programme today—and there are such schemes in other countries, too—is improvement of quality. If proof is needed of this, one has only to examine sheep population and yield statistics covering the past decade. These prove beyond doubt how the relationship between modern science and animal husbandry has developed, for although the world's sheep population has decreased during the past 10 years, wool production has shown a marked increase. The scientist has proved that greater yields are possible from less sheep.

Behind these amazing figures there is much inherited and acquired knowledge, long, exhaustive tests in the world's leading wool research

centres, and, of course, great skill. This increased production from less sheep has been accomplished by modern, careful breeding, and the cultivation of the most suitable pasture; these particular aspects are receiving attention in India.

India possesses one-twentieth of the world's sheep population, but is faced with the fact that only 500,000 of her 40 million sheep yield comparatively fine wool, the remainder producing medium, or coarse, hairy types. The latter are excellent for carpet production, but India needs fine wools for tweeds, worsteds, knitting yarns and blankets. Incidentally, one of the reasons for her need is that she should be in a better position to compete in the international markets with Japan, Italy, the United Kingdom and other countries, for India cannot offer similar goods at comparable low prices. Indian manufacturers find competition from these imports very great indeed—particularly from Japanese worsteds and Italian shoddy type woollens—in spite of duties of approximately 75 per cent. on imported fabrics.

The main aim in India, then, is that she should be less dependent on apparel fabric imports. In achieving this she is introducing better breeds of sheep in India, and in particular, in Uttar Pradesh and other hill districts—breeds such as American merinos in Kashmir, Romney Marsh in the Nilgiri Hills of south India, Polworth, Border Leicester and Corriedale in the United Provinces. In Rajasthan—India's largest wool producer—efforts are being made to improve breeds without foreign blood.

With the aid of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, advice has been given on ways in which India's wools can be improved. A survey was undertaken of the United Provinces by two leading Australian sheep experts in 1953 and their recommendation—which has since been acted on—was that the quickest way to improve the quality of the sheep was to import new blood. They further recommended as an essential first step the creation of a farm where superior rams could be bred and later distributed to the nomadic hill shepherds, who, it is hoped, will benefit most from the scheme. The shepherds would use the wool themselves for hand processing, for the shepherds are both wool-growers and weavers—probably the world's only mobile cottage industry.

Superior rams from crossing local sheep with suitable types of imported sheep are also important, so two separate breeding policies were advocated by the experts. One was to breed imported-type rams from new stock; the other to produce superior selected crossbred rams from those bred in this way. It was realised, however, that acclimatisation of imported animals would be slow.

Following the Australian experts' survey—they later made another in Kashmir—it was planned to establish 16 government farms equipped to accommodate good sheep under suitable conditions. Government support for this scheme was enthusiastic, and with full financial support land was acquired for the first farm at Rishikesh in the Himalayan foothills. FAO supported the project with the gift of 210 Australian sheep, modern shearing equipment, and two Australian sheep dogs.

Experts estimated that three shipments of sheep would be required over a period of three years to establish one suitable breed for the production required. Losses from the first shipment, due to disease and parasites amounted to about 50 per cent. Such losses were expected and the fact that the percentage was not higher is entirely due to veterinary prophylactic treatment and efficient husbandry. As the Polworth sheep suffered the lowest losses the second shipment (of 200 sheep in March, 1955) was confined to that breed.

Already 200 Indian sheep have been taken to Rishikesh and the first crossbred lambs were born last year. This experimental station—called the Central Sheep and Wool Research Station—is now equipped to handle 500 sheep, a capacity which is being increased as new pastures

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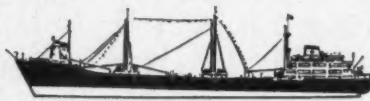
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are replanted with legumes and a number of other grasses, including successful Australian varieties. Rishikesh, however, was only the first of 16 such farms, and in addition were planned 32 ram depots from which private flock owners may obtain superior breeding rams. Nine farms and all the ram depots are now operating successfully.

The modern methods and techniques adopted at these farms and depots will make it possible to improve the quality of the indigenous carpet wools so that types suitable for blankets and tweeds can be produced in two sheep generations. So far, the resulting wools have been too greasy for hand-spinning by the nomadic shepherds; attempts are now being made to overcome this difficulty.

Any general improvement in Indian wools also calls for studies of nutrition, disease, parasites, breeding rates, potential for improvement within existing breeds, breeding for maximum production within local environmental and seasonal limitations, improvement of wool quality and quantity, and limited experimental cross-breeding with imported sheep with a view to discovering the best possible type for each area. This is where the trained scientific mind—and in this respect the name *scientist* embraces technologists, biologists, chemists, veterinary experts, and so on—comes to the wool-grower's aid.

In addition to these problems and considerations there is sheep and wool marketing. Wool, in particular, must be prepared in such a way that it is presented in the most attractive form to the manufacturer. In this respect there is the Indian wool grading and marking scheme for exports and the Sheep's Wool Improvement Department in Rajasthan.

For maximum success in the wool industry, so much depends on the education of wool-growers and their employees in the use of modern techniques. Although there has been some reluctance on the part of wool-growers in some countries to displace old, well-tried, but totally out-dated methods, they have now discovered through successful practice that the link between the laboratory and the farm is an extremely valuable one. Education of the nomadic shepherds in such new methods, however, is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for they are constantly on the move—so much so, in fact, that nobody could say how many sheep they possess.

Expansion, as indicated, is aided to some extent by foreign aid—both monetary and technical. However, one should not overlook the important work of India's own experts or the fact that India herself planned these improvements long before FAO sought to assist her. Indeed, the proportion of foreign aid is small compared with India's own efforts. For instance, assisting in current developments there is the Government Livestock Farm at Hissar, other establishments in Rajasthan, and a number of bodies run by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research.

As to the Indian wool textile industry and its development plan, there are still many difficulties facing the industry. Firstly, there are two fundamental disadvantages: the wide gap between the cost of the imported raw material (India at present imports some 80 per cent. of her apparel wool supplies) and the price at which goods can be sold on the domestic market, and the seasonal nature of the demand for wool products in India. Her peculiar difficulty lies in her living standard, which is much lower than that of her competitors who set the level of values. In addition, there are numerous other factors which place her at a distinct disadvantage.

These difficulties have a very real effect on any development within the industry, but in the replacement of old, obsolescent machinery and in the introduction of new processes, such as those for shrink resistance and moth-proofing, India's wool textile industry—like her wool-growing industry—is able to draw on the accumulated knowledge of the world's leading experts. Apart from streamlining the industry, modern machinery and techniques are media for the reduction of production costs—a vital factor in the economy of the Indian wool textile industry.

Mechanical development within the industry, however, has not actually begun yet. An excise duty of 6½ per cent. on wool fabrics (except those produced by the cottage industry); heavy overheads due to non-capacity working; a cut in army blanket contracts; inefficient labour (this includes heavy wage bills for redundant and unsatisfactory staff until cases are reviewed by over-worked tribunals, often involving a three-year waiting period); payment of staff during slack periods; and the seasonal nature of the industry—these are some of the problems facing the industry. Until they are solved, little is likely to be done towards the modernisation and expansion of India's mechanised wool textile industry.

Development on both sides of the wool industry in India cannot benefit by anything but a long-term policy. In the meantime, manufacturers there can obtain through the New Delhi office of the International Wool Secretariat advice on any aspect of production, for the Secretariat's Department of Science and Technology in London is closely associated with such well-known scientific research establishments as the Wool Industries Research Association at Leeds, the Department of Textile Industries at Leeds University, Bradford Technical College, and the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation in Australia.

This, of course, is not to mention research work at Bombay University, the Indian Council of Agricultural Research and other centres throughout India, all of which are carrying out research which, one day, will help to make wool and wool products a vital factor in India's position as a bartering nation.

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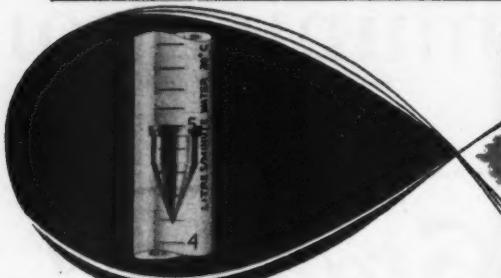
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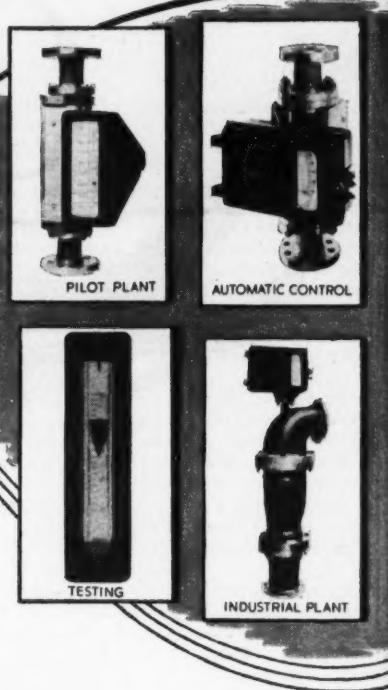
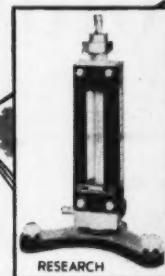


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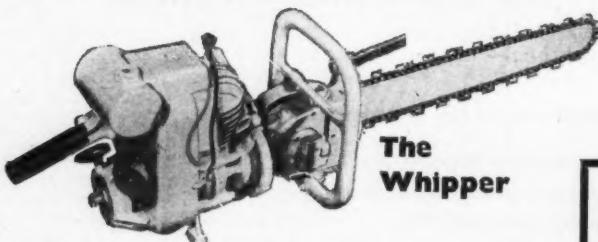
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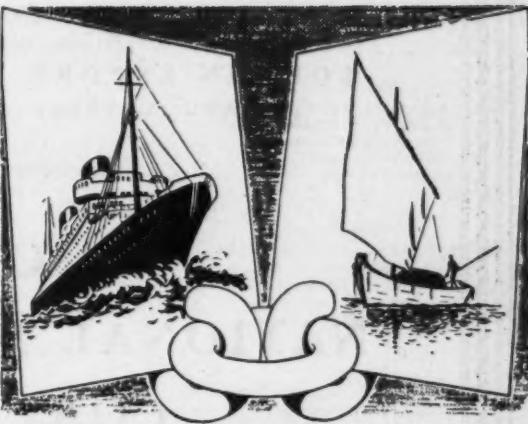
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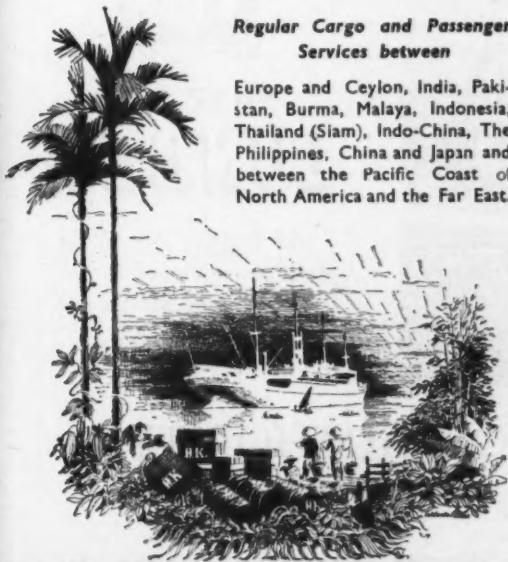


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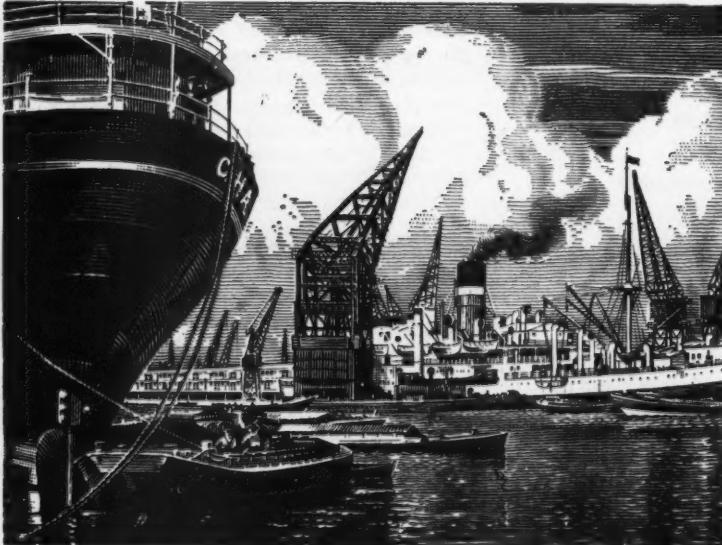


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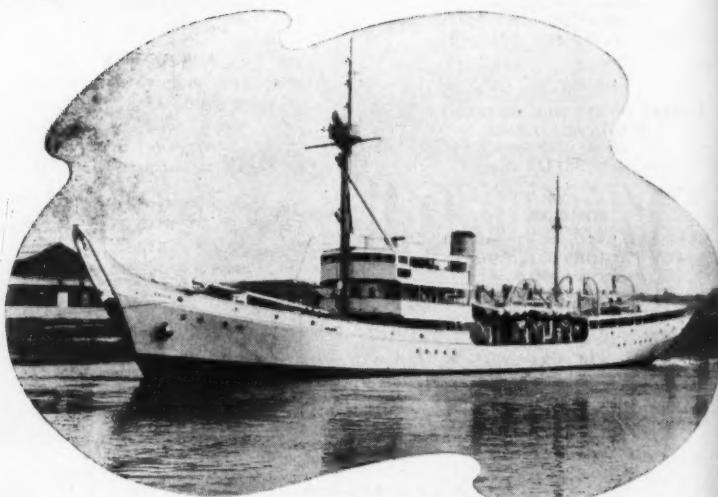
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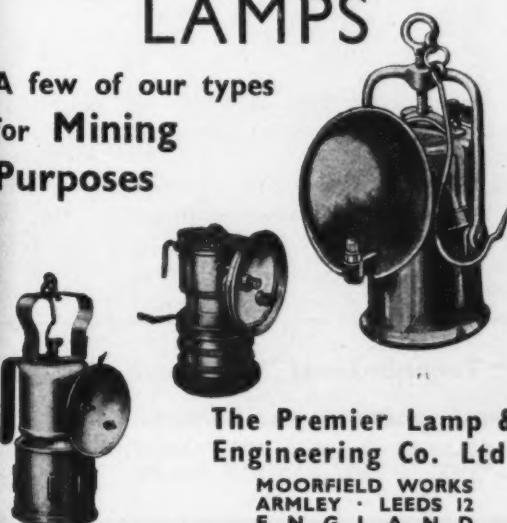
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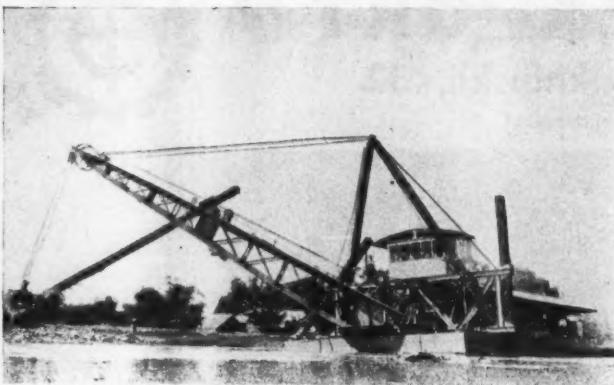
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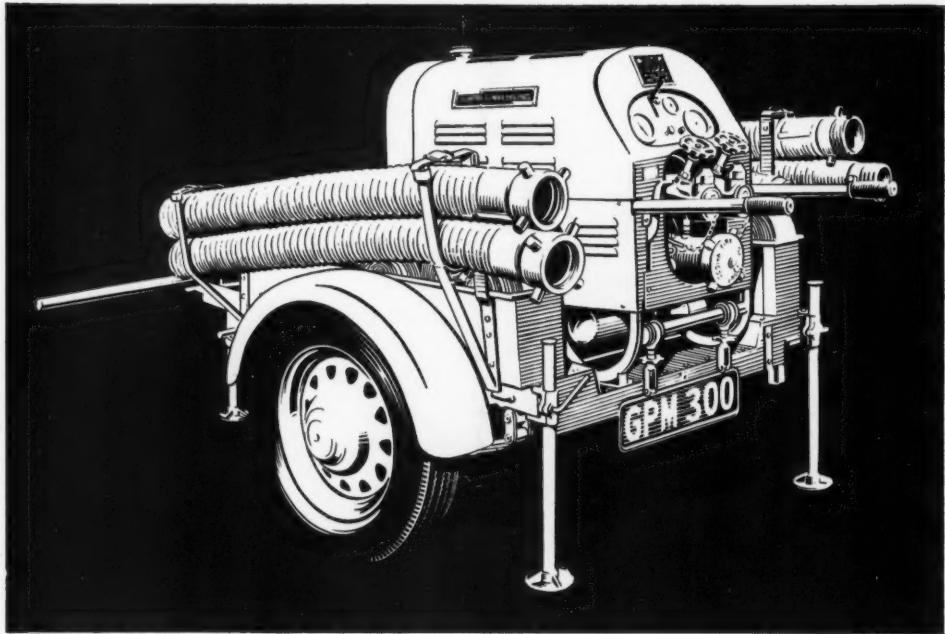
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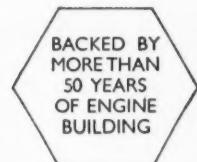
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